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INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION SERIES

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

By common consent the teachers of the United States would choose Massachusetts as the State possessing the most interesting educational history. Even though each teacher should express his first preference for his own State, there would be found great unanimity in the second choice.

Upon close examination it appears to the student of education that each State has something unique, some phase of development better represented than can be found elsewhere. In the history of education, as in that of other provinces, it is not merely the invention of good methods that profits us, but the discovery of the bad effects that follow from the use of methods not good. The demonstration of the evils incident to a certain course of study or practice in school administration is a permanent contribution to the science of pedagogy. All methods and appliances which are accounted good have, it is true, their limits, beyond which they are useless, if not

pernicious. From this it is evident that each State system of education possesses points of interest and lessons in management valuable either as models for guidance or negatively as experiments to be avoided.

The claims of the history of education in Massachusetts to pre-eminent interest are based on the fact that it offers the completest exhibition of the Puritan ideal of education that is to be found. It shows it in all its phases of evolution, and makes evident both its strength and its weakness. The experience of Massachusetts has aided all the other colonies settled by Puritans to outgrow the earlier and more defective stages of Puritan development. The experience of "the Bay State" has thus been vicarious, serving not only for itself but in a measure for all the other New England States, and also for the new communities in the West, settled in great part by emigrants from New England. There is scarcely a feature of school instruction or school discipline and management that has not been differentiated in Massachusetts at some epoch within the two hundred years of its history. The adoption of a course of study and the fixing of the amount of instruction to be given in each branch and the time when it is best to begin it; the relative position of the disciplinary and the information

studies; the use and disuse of corporal punishment; the education of girls; written examinations; the grading of schools; the relation of principal and assistant teachers; professional instruction in normal schools; religious instruction; unsectarian moral instruction and secular instruction; theocratic or ecclesiastical government and purely secular control, or the union and separation of Church and State; government by centralized power and then by distribution of power to districts, realizing the extreme of local self-government, and then the recovery of central authority; public high schools and private academies; co-education and separate education of the sexes; educational support by tuition fees, rate bills, general taxation, and local taxation; general and local supervision by committees and by experts; educational associations and teachers' institutes; large and small school buildings and their division into rooms, their heating, ventilation, and lighting; evening schools, kindergartens, industrial art instruction, free textbooks—in fact, almost all educational problems have been agitated at one time or another in Massachusetts.

It has often happened that some one feature or another has been taken up by a neighboring State and more perfectly developed than in Mas-

sachusetts; or in the inception of some important movement other States have anticipated Massachusetts. But no other State has, on the whole, so rich and profitable an experience.

In studying the records of this State one is impressed by the fact that every new movement has run the gantlet of fierce and bitter opposition before adoption. The ability of the conservative party has always been conspicuous, and the friends of the new measure have been forced to exert all their strength, and to eliminate one after another the objectionable features discovered in advance by their enemies. To this fact is due the success of so many of the reforms and improvements that have proceeded from this State. The fire of criticism has purified the gold from the dross in a large measure already before the stage of practical experiment has begun. In reviewing this long record of bitter quarrels over new measures that have now become old and venerable because of their good results in all parts of the nation, we are apt to become impatient and blame too severely the conservative party in Massachusetts. We forget that the opposition helped to perfect the theory of the reform, and did much to make it a real advance instead of a mere change from one imperfect method to another. Even at best, educational

changes are often only changes of fashion, the swing of the pendulum from one extreme to another, and sure to need correction by a fresh reaction. Again, it is patent in Massachusetts history that the defects of old methods were in great part remedied by the good sense and skill of many highly cultured teachers who still practiced them, and hence the wholesale denunciation of the old methods was felt to be unjust. The best teachers resented the attack on their methods. It seemed unfair, because it charged against the method all the mistakes committed by inexperience and stupidity, and because, too, it claimed more for the new device than could be realized. The old was condemned for its poor results in the hands of the most incompetent, while the new was commended as an ideal, without considering what it would become in the hands of unfaithful teachers.

It is well said by the author, Mr. Martin, that the Puritan emigration to New England was a part of a large movement which had begun with the revival of learning in western Europe, and which has not yet ceased, but seems destined to include in its scope the whole human race. It is easy to see that modern history has exhibited external and internal reactions in a progressive series. There was an external reaction against

the East, in the form of crusades, from the eleventh century on. But contemporaneous with this there went on an internal reaction in the form of Scholastic philosophy against the Moslem thinkers, who interpreted Aristotle in such a way as to deny individual immortality to the soul; Scholasticism refuted such pantheism in its systems of theology. This was a philosophical crusade. There was another outward reaction in the epoch of discovery and colonization of the New World, and this was accompanied by an internal reaction known as the Protestant Reformation. It has been succeeded by an era of revolutions—external reactions against centralized authority in political governments, and internal reactions in favor of science and the emancipation from spiritual authority in its various forms. The Puritan colonization belongs to the second of these movements, and the third movement is in process now, and to it is chargeable most of the changes in Massachusetts schools within the present century.

Here we see the significance of the apparent retrogression of education in Massachusetts from 1789 to 1839, a period of fifty years, marked by the increase of local self-government and the decrease of central authority. The central power had been largely theocratic or ecclesiastical at

the beginning. The reaction against ecclesiastical control went too far in the direction of individualism. The farthest swing of the pendulum in this direction was reached in 1828, when the districts obtained the exclusive control of the schools in all matters except in the item of examition of teachers. The public schools diminished in efficiency, and a twofold opposition began some years before 1828, which took, on the one hand, the shape of an attempt to remedy the deficiency of public schools by the establishment of academies, and, on the other hand, that of a vigorous attack by educational reformers, such as Horace Mann and his able coworker Carter. The establishment of a State Board of Education, and the appointment of Horace Mann as its secretary, mark an era of return from the extreme of individualism to the proper union of local and central authority in the management of schools. The smaller the territory the fewer the number of able men and women available for school management. The town contained able men enough for one excellent school committee, but not always enough to furnish such a committee for each district.

The commencement of the era of rapid growth of cities—our urban era—belongs to the time of Horace Mann's entrance upon his labors in Mas-

sachusetts. It is the era of railroads and manufacturing towns. Formerly the rural districts held a winter session of three or four months taught by a man, and a summer school of shorter session taught by a woman. The teacher did not adopt teaching as a vocation, but only as a makeshift. After the railroads came, and villages grew, the school session was extended to ten or eleven months and teaching became a vocation. Then succeeded a demand for skilled teachers, and the normal school was established to give them professional training; after this came expert supervision of schools.

The influence of Massachusetts on other Commonwealths in school matters can be inferred by the frequency with which one finds the words of the law of 1789 quoted in State school laws and in codes of school regulations adopted for the government of city schools. "Instructors of youth," it said, "should exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth the principles of piety and justice and a sacred regard to truth." It made a tentative list of the virtues that can be cultivated in school, such as "love of their country, humanity, and universal benevolence; sobriety, industry, and frugality; chastity, moderation, and temperance; and those other virtues which are the ornament of human

society and the basis upon which a republican Constitution is founded."

Special attention is called to the long battle against the district system, lasting over fifty years. Three times it was abolished by the Legislature, only to be restored again quickly by repeal of the law (1853, 1859, 1869). At last, in 1882, when only forty-five towns out of the total of more than three hundred and fifty still retained the district system, the fourth law was passed, and the system finally (it is believed) abolished.

The law of 1836, in Massachusetts, regulating the employment of children under the age of fifteen years working in the mills, forbade such employment, unless the child had attended school three months "in the year preceding his employment." It is an interesting commentary on the efficiency of such a law that a statute in the same words was adopted in Connecticut, and this was followed by a full attendance of children from the mills every alternate winter. The law was kept in its letter but violated in its spirit; for the legal interpretation of the words "three months in the year preceding his employment" was construed by lawyers to refer to the calendar year, and not to the twelve months preceding the time of employment, as the lawmakers intended.

It is sometimes mentioned as a proof of the inefficiency of the Connecticut law that there were no prosecutions under the law. But the fact is, that the natural reluctance of parents to render themselves liable to such prosecution was sufficient to secure a general attendance of the children of the mills in compliance with the letter of the law. Before the passage of the law a large per cent of the children were deprived of their schooling by their parents for the sake of their earnings in the mills.

Mr. Martin names the steps of progress in Massachusetts education as follows:

(1) Compulsory teaching; (2) compulsory schools; (3) compulsory certificating of teachers; (4) compulsory supervision; (5) compulsory school attendance. Besides these steps, there are other highly important epochs marked by (*a*) the admission of girls to schools above the primary grades; (*b*) the establishment of English high schools (for boys, 1821; for girls, 1825); (*c*) evening schools; (*d*) normal schools; (*e*) industrial art education and State Normal Art School; (*f*) free text-books; (*g*) written examinations (1845); (*h*) the adoption of single classrooms for assistant teachers, and the abolition of the practice of having the pupils sit together in a large hall under the master's eye for purposes of study (1847).

All these are treated by Mr. Martin in this book.

I find, by the returns made to the National Bureau of Education, that the total amount of school education that each inhabitant of Massachusetts is receiving on an average—basing the calculation on the attendance in public and private schools and the length of the annual school term—is nearly seven years of two hundred days each, while the average schooling given each citizen in the whole nation is only four and three tenths of such years. No other State is giving so much education to its people as Massachusetts, and yet all the education given in all its institutions does not amount on an average to so much as seven eighths of an elementary education of eight years. Even Massachusetts is not over-educating the people. But there would seem to be some connection between the fact that, while her citizens get nearly twice the national average amount of education, her wealth-producing power as compared with other States stands almost in the same ratio — namely (in 1885), at seventy-three cents per day for each man, woman, and child, while the average for the whole nation was only forty cents.

W. T. HARRIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *November, 1894.*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS book is not a history of education in Massachusetts. For such a work the materials are ample, and only await the approach of someone who has time and inclination to use them. The author has the inclination, and hopes in the future to have the time.

The present work is only a sketch—a study. It aims to show the evolutionary character of the public-school history of the State, and to point out the lines along which the development has run, and the relation throughout to the social environment.

Incidentally, it serves to illustrate the slow, wavering, irregular way by which the people under popular governments work out their own social progress.

The lecture form in which the material was originally cast has been maintained at the request of many interested persons. A few references have been added in footnotes to facilitate

further study, if any reader should care to continue his investigations.

It is almost superfluous to say that Barnard's Journal of Education has been of inestimable service in the preparation of this work, for wherever the student of educational history travels he will find that Dr. Barnard has been before him. One hardly knows which most to thank him for—his own labors in the cause of education, or his painstaking memorials of the labors of others.

The author is especially indebted to Mr. C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian of Massachusetts, and to Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, Assistant Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for valuable assistance and advice.

To Mr. Augustus Lowell, the friend of education and the wise and public-spirited trustee of the Lowell Institute, the author is also indebted for the earliest opportunity to place this history before the public.

LYNN, MASS., *September 1, 1893.*

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MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM.

LECTURE I.

THE EARLY LEGISLATION; ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRECEDENTS.

THE late Chief-Justice Shaw, in a famous interpretation of school law, used these words:

> It would be curious to examine into the early legislation and see from what small beginnings and by what slow and steady progress the system of public instruction has increased to its present magnitude, maintained at great expense, cherished with the most anxious solicitude, and affecting the dearest social and political interests of the State.—(Cushing, 8–164.)

Such an examination is the purpose of this course of lectures.

In 1635 the town of Boston, having attained the age of five years—the school age—put upon its records the following vote:*

> Agreed upon that our brother Philemon Pormort shall be entreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing children with us.

* Second Report of Boston Record Commissioners, p. 5.

Who were the men who so long ago were not ashamed to call the schoolmaster "brother"? What were their character and purpose? For no one has a right to treat of Massachusetts history in any of its phases who does not first answer these questions.

They were not needy adventurers, seeking to restore their ruined fortunes in a land of gold, like the cavaliers of New Spain. They were not ignorant peasants, beguiled into the wilderness to form the servile basis for a feudal *régime*, as in New France. They were not exiles driven from their homes by the edicts of tyranny, like the Huguenots. They were well-to-do, intelligent English yeomen and gentlemen, with some artisans and traders, and a liberal sprinkling of scholars. I say they were intelligent: if I say they were Puritans, the other need not be said.

Puritanism, like Minerva, sprang from the brain. It was the consummate flower of English intellect, stimulated by the most eventful century in English history. The story of that century is a familiar one. Just a hundred years before, Henry VIII had severed England from the papacy. Then came the spread of the Tyndale Bible; the semi-Protestantism of the youthful Edward; the reaction under Mary, lurid with the fires of Smithfield; the accession of the Vir-

gin Queen; the Renaissance of chivalry; the fixing of the Protestant succession; the intolerant Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; the harrying of Catholics and Brownists; the Catholic League; the Spanish Armada; the burst of patriotism which repelled it; the naval glories of Drake and Hawkins; the splendors of the court, with Burleigh and Leicester, Essex and Raleigh; the more brilliant galaxy of literary celebrities—Spenser and Shakespeare, Bacon and Hooker; the succession of the Presbyterian James—narrow, opinionated, arbitrary, "the wisest fool in Europe"; the Hampton Court conference, disappointing the Puritans; the profound discussion of religious doctrines and polities; the clashing of parliamentary rights with royal prerogatives; the marshaling of the forces that were to set aside the right divine of kings and put the people on the throne. Here was enough to set the coldest brain on fire. No wonder that the reason so often lost its power to control; that fanatics were multiplied; that this was the age of *isms*.

The Puritans were in the thick of all this; and the Massachusetts Puritans, in intellectual vigor, in literary culture, in political sagacity, in patriotic devotion, as well as in the strength of religious conviction, were not a whit behind

their brethren whom they left to fight the battle at home.

Such were the men whose acts we are to study, and their purpose was in keeping with their character. They came here to found a state —an English state and a Puritan state. They were not visionaries nor fanatics. They combined in a remarkable degree the profoundly intellectual with the severely practical. "New lights" found anything but a hospitable welcome. Cotton Mather says of Governor Dudley:

> There was no man that more hated fanatics and wild opinionists than he did, notwithstanding he was so strenuous an oppugner of conformity and the ceremonies of the Church of England.

The emigrants came here to reproduce, as nearly as circumstances would allow, their English life, and to provide for its continuance. They had no elaborate scheme of government, like that which Locke and Shaftesbury prepared for the Carolinas; they went about their work in the most straightforward way. They set up their home life and social life and town life and church life as quietly as if they had been planting colonies all their lives. What of English customs and precedents they could use they used; what they could not use they dropped; what new ones they needed they supplied; and all as if

they were doing the most commonplace thing in the world.

The civil organization of the colony was peculiar. The people had emigrated under a charter which gave all civil authority to the officers and members of a corporation formed to promote settlement and trade. Only those settlers who were members of the company had a voice in the government, and for a time only members of the churches could be members of the company. This gave controlling influence to the ministers, university educated men, whose commanding scholarship and eloquence had made them shining marks for ecclesiastical persecution.

Upon arrival the settlers had dispersed in groups, selecting eligible sites around Boston as a center. These groups of people living together began at once to act together on matters of common interest—the partition of lands, the herding of cattle, watch and ward, matters of common concern. Thus the town life was set up. At first all action was voluntary and without legal authority. The center and source of all authority was the General Court; at first an assembly of all the members of the company, but soon composed of deputies sent by the towns, together with the Governor and a body of magistrates also chosen by the people. Thus was combined, as in

all Anglo-Saxon communities, local autonomy with supreme central authority. Our study, therefore, must be along two lines. The acts of the General Court represent public sentiment when crystallized into law. The formative period is disclosed in the history of the towns.

In the first volume of the Massachusetts Records—those "short and simple annals of the poor"—we read: *

> At a Court holden Sept. 8, 1636, and continued by adjournment to the 28th of the 8th month, October, 1636, the Court agreed to give £400 toward a school or college; £200 to be paid next year and £200 when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building.

The next year "the college is ordered to be at Newtown." Soon the name of the town was changed to Cambridge, in loving memory of the *alma mater* of so many of the colonists.

In 1638, before the college was fairly established, John Harvard, a minister who had been in the colony but a year, dying, bequeathed his library and half his property to the infant institution. Says President Quincy in his history of Harvard University: †

> An instance of benevolence thus striking and timely . . . was accepted by our fathers as an omen of divine favor. With

* Records of Massachusetts, vol. i, p. 183.

† Quincy's History of Harvard University, 2d ed., vol. i, p. 9.

prayer and thanksgiving they immediately commenced the seminary, and conferred upon it the name of Harvard.

Historians have dwelt chiefly upon the liberality of the people in their endowment of the new college. It was liberal indeed—£400. Palfrey says it was equal to the whole colony tax for a year. It was equal to fifty cents for each of the inhabitants of the colony. At the same rate now a million dollars would scarcely represent the value of the endowment, and it would not begin to represent its burden upon the people.

But the act is not most significant for its liberality. There was in it a sublime faith in the future, akin to that which led the childless patriarch to see in the innumerable stars of his Syrian sky a symbol of his own posterity. There was a consciousness of being at work at foundations, of building for all time. There was an intelligent conception of the relation of learning to truth and of truth to civil and religious liberty. What memories of their own college days, what visions of the future, what painful sense of contrast these graduates of old Cambridge had as they planned for their infant college, we do not know; but we do know that they had caught the spirit of the apostle—they were ready to forget the things which were behind, and to reach out to those which were before. All this is expressed

in that often-quoted sentence from New England's First Fruits:*

> After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministry shall lie in the dust.

A certain class of writers on Massachusetts history is fond of saying that the infant colony was dominated by the ministers, and that they founded Harvard College not from a love of learning, but as a means of perpetuating their own influence. If we give the ministers the credit of founding the college, we must also give them the credit of the legislative act of 1642.† The Court—

> taking into consideration the great neglect of many parents and guardians in training up their children in learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the commonwealth—

order that the selectmen in every town shall have power to take account of all parents and masters as to their children's education and employment. The chosen men may divide the town among them so that each shall have the over-

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* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1st series, p. 242.

† Records of Mass., vol. ii, p. 8.

sight of a certain number of families. They are to see that the children can read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country, and that they are put to some useful work.

Those Puritan ministers were not, after all, as black as they have been painted. There is no taint of priestcraft about this law. Bigoted ecclesiastics, aiming to promote the interests of their order, have not been wont to include in their schemes the universal education of the masses.

Another principle underlay this law. "Profitable to the commonwealth" is the language used. In a revision of the law, made a few years later, the preamble says:

> For inasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth—

for the parents not to teach their children to read the English tongue and to know the capital law is barbarism. They knew that an industrious child was a squared stone fit to be builded into the edifice they were rearing, so they would have the children put to work. They called illiteracy barbarism, and therefore, not for the Church's sake nor for the child's sake, but for the sake of the commonwealth, they insisted on universal education. That this law was not a

dead letter the records of the towns abundantly show. The following extracts from the records of the town of Billerica are typical ones:*

1—5—'61. "The Townsmen doe agree yt Lieftenant Will french and Ralph Hill senior, doe take care and (examine) the seuerell famelies in our Towne whethr there children and servants are Taught in the precepts of relidione, in reding and Learning there Catechism."

10—9—'68. The selectmen "appoint ye next seconday to go ye rounds to examine the teachings of children and youth according to law."

3—19—'75. "In reference to the catechising of ye youth of ye towne and examining them concerning their reading, a duty imposed on ye selectmen by ye Honrd Court to take care that children and youth be instructed in both. The selectmen doe order that all children and youth single persons from eight years old upward their parence and masters shall send such their children and servants to ye Reverend Mr. Samuel Whiting at such times as shallbee afterward appointed by him, to be examined of both, as hoping this might be a good expedient for ye encouragement of all superiours and youth."

Five years later, in 1647, was enacted the school law which is the real foundation of the Massachusetts school system.

During the seventeen years of the colony's existence, it had been growing in numbers. It had attained a population of nearly twenty thousand people, living in thirty towns. They had planted "fifty towns and villages, built thirty or forty churches and more ministers' houses, a cas-

* Hazen's History of Billerica, p. 252.

tle, a college, prisons, forts, cartways and causeways many; had comfortable houses, gardens and orchards, grounds fenced and cornfields." They had begun to export some staples—furs, clapboards, hoops, pipestaves and masts, grain and provisions for victualing ships, fish of various kinds, pitch, tar, resin and turpentine, oils. They were raising hemp and flax and manufacturing them. They were mining iron and casting it at Saugus, making woolen and cotton cloth at Rowley, and glass at Salem. They were building ships at Medford and Marblehead, Salem and Boston, and before 1647 these same ships were carrying the products of Massachusetts to Virginia and the West Indies, to London and Teneriffe and Malaga.*

Many of the towns had provided schools and were sending their boys to the college at Cambridge. But this was not enough. So far all was voluntary. There was danger that as the colonists penetrated farther into the wilderness, as new exigencies arose, as the rewards of business enterprise grew more sure and more enticing, education would become neglected, and that the public spirit which had characterized the first settlers would be chilled by a narrow regard

* Palfrey's History of New England, ii, pp. 53–57.

for private interests. It is probable that already some of the towns had made no corporate provision for schools, and that in others the means of education had not expanded with the increase in numbers and wealth. In these circumstances a law was framed so broad and generous in its scope as to challenge the admiration of statesmen;* so exact, yet so elastic in its provisions, that with a single addition it sufficed for one hundred and forty years of Massachusetts history. More than this, it contained as in embryo the whole school system of Massachusetts as we know it to-day. The process which we shall have occasion to study is one of evolution, not of accretion. Many readers are already familiar with the law:†

"It being one chiefe project of y^t^ ould deluder, Sathan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y^e^ Scriptures, as in form^r^ times by keeping y^m^ in an unknowne tongue, so in these latt^r^ times by perswading from y^e^ use of tongues y^t^ so at least y^e^ true sence and meaning of y^e^ originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, y^t^ learning may not be buried in y^e^ grave of

* Macaulay's Speeches, ii, pp. 333–335, ed. of Redfield, New York, 1853.

† Records of Mass., vol. ii, p. 203.

o^r^ fath^m^ in y^e^ church and comonwealth, the Lord assisting o^r^ endeavo^r^s.

"It is therefore ord^r^ed, y^t^ ev^r^y township in this jurisdiction, aft^r^ y^e^ Lord hath increased y^m^ to y^e^ number of fifty household^rs^, shall then forthw^th^ appoint one w^th^in their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid eith^r^ by y^e^ parents or mast^rs^ of such children, or by y^e^ inhabitants in gen^r^all, by way of supply, as y^e^ maior p^t^ of those y^t^ ord^r^ y^e^ prudentials of y^e^ towne shall appoint; provided, those y^t^ send their children be not oppressed by paying much more y^n^ they can have y^m^ taught for in othe^r^ townes; and it is furth^r^ ordered, y^t^ where any towne shall increase to y^e^ numb^r^ of one hundred families or household^rs^ they shall set up a gramer schoole, y^e^ master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y^e^ university; provided, y^t^ if any towne neglect y^e^ performance hereof above one yeare, y^t^ every such towne shall pay 5^li^ to y^e^ next schoole till they shall performe this order."

With the enactment of this law the system was complete: elementary English schools, secondary classical schools, and the college. With these as instruments, the commonwealth might provide itself with learned ministers and teachers

and with an intelligent body of citizens, of whom a part would be fitted for leadership by the superior culture afforded by the higher schools.

An analysis of the laws of 1642 and 1647 discovers the principles upon which Massachusetts school history rests:

1. The universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the state.

2. The obligation to furnish this education rests primarily upon the parent.

3. The state has a right to enforce this obligation.

The law of 1642 said nothing of schools. It simply insisted that the children should be educated; all children—girls and boys—children bound out to service as well as children at home. How or where they should be taught it did not prescribe, and the officers intrusted with the enforcement of the law were empowered to demand only results; they were neither to provide means, nor act as censors of methods. But the state claimed the right to know (and exercised it) whether the child was educated, and to know it through officers appointed for that purpose.

4. The state may fix a standard which shall determine the kind of education, and the minimum amount.

Thus the law of 1642 said that the child must

know how to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws. The law of 1647 went further, and required the towns in their corporate capacity to provide suitable opportunities for the required education, so that the want of such opportunities might not seem to relieve the parent from his obligation. If the town had not the fifty householders, the obligation upon the parent was not less binding. No child might suffer because he lived in an infant community or in a sparsely settled one. But while these laws decreed compulsory education, they did not make school attendance compulsory. The teacher was to instruct "all such children as should resort to him." They need not resort to him if they were educated elsewhere. The law neither restricted parental rights nor interfered with parental choice.

The law of 1647 enunciated another principle:

5. Public money raised by general tax may be used to provide such education as the state requires. The tax may be general, though the school attendance is not.

6. Education higher than the rudiments may be supplied by the state. Opportunity must be provided at public expense for youths who wish it to be fitted for the university.

Whatever discussion may arise upon the ab-

stract justice of any of these principles, the fact remains that they were incorporated into the earliest statutes, and have been a part of Massachusetts history from the beginning.

It is important to note here that the idea underlying all this is neither paternal nor socialistic. The child is to be educated, not to advance his personal interests, but because the state will suffer if he is not educated. The state does not provide schools to relieve the parent, nor because it can educate better than the parent can, but because it can thereby better enforce the obligation which it imposes.

In view of the fact that England has never made provision for education equally generous, we are led to ask for the source of principles so wise and so statesmanlike, incorporated into their life so early by people just from England.

Looked at in its large relation, the Puritan migration was only a part of that great upward movement which, beginning with the revival of learning in western Europe, has not yet ceased, and which, reacting on the Eastern world, seems destined to include in its scope the whole human race. Of this movement the Protestant revolution was the most conspicuous feature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the Protestant revolution learning was first the sword

and then the shield. It is doubtful if Luther's attempt to reform the Church would have met with any less tragic fate than had those of Wiclif and Huss, if the new learning had not already opened men's minds and made them more receptive of new truth. Erasmus made men laugh at the ignorance before Luther made them angry at the corruption of the clergy. And when the reformed doctrines were established, the reformers everywhere aimed to perpetuate their faith by educating the people. The keynote of this attempt was struck by Luther, in his address to the councilmen of all the towns of Germany in 1524.* After lamenting the neglected education of the young, Luther appeals to the magistrates with an eloquence and force which have never been surpassed. Said he:

A city's increase consists not alone in heaping up great treasures, in building solid walls, or in multiplying artillery; nay, where there is a great store of this and yet fools with it, it is all the worse and all the greater loss for the city. But this is the best and the richest increase, prosperity and strength of a city—that it shall contain a great number of polished, learned, intelligent, honorable, and well-bred citizens; who, when they have become all this, may then get wealth and put it to good use. Since, then, a city must have citizens, . . . we are not to wait until they are grown up. We can neither hew them out of wood nor carve them out of stone. . . . We must use the appointed means, and with cost and care rear up and mold our citizens.

* Barnard's Journal of Education, iv, p. 429.

He answers the ever-repeated question—What will it profit us to have Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and your other liberal arts taught in our schools? These languages and these arts are agreeable and useful alike; sources both of honor and of profit; throwing light upon the Scriptures and imparting sound wisdom to rulers. He argues that the Church had fallen into corruption because the languages had been lost, and affirms that God had caused the languages to put on bloom and vigor for the sake of the gospel. We may conclude, he says, that where the languages do not abide, there in the end the gospel must perish.

The preamble to the Massachusetts school law of 1647 is a perfect echo of this appeal. Luther had said: "The prince of darkness is shrewd enough to know that where the languages flourish, there his power will be so rent and torn that he can not readily repair it. Few of us perceive the craft and snare of the devil." The Puritans of Massachusetts had their eyes wide open on this side, and if they never threw the ink-bottle at Satan, as Luther did, they used its contents with as much vigor and wisdom. Their preamble says:

> It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times

by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues.

If there is any better means of outwitting the devil than by popular education, the genius of man has not yet discovered it.

But Luther would not have his education rest wholly on ghostly motives. "Were there no soul," said he, "and were there no need of schools or of the languages for the sake of the Scriptures or of God, yet it would be a sufficient reason for establishing in every place the very best of schools, both for boys and girls, that the world merely to maintain its outward prosperity has need of shrewd and accomplished men and women, men to pilot state and people safely and to good issues, women to train up well and to confirm in good courses the children and servants." In the same address Luther argues as soundly for public libraries as for schools.

The school system as planned by Luther and Melanchthon* included in one or two places in the principality a learned school, whence preachers, pastors, clerks, and councilors might be taken for the whole principality. In all the towns and villages good schools for the children should be established, whence those who were adapted to

* Barnard's National Education in Europe, p. 20.

higher studies might be taken and trained up for the public.

Under these arguments and appeals, a school law was adopted and schools opened in Brandenburg before 1540; in Wittenberg in 1559; in Saxony in 1560; in Hesse in 1565. The Thirty Years' War interfered with the schools, but at its close, or before, the government made it compulsory on parents, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment, to send the children to school during a certain period.

Holland early felt the impulse. Schools were already numerous in the cities when the Synod of 1586 sought to make them universal. It ordered that the consistories or assemblies of ministers and elders of the churches should take care that schools should be everywhere provided with good schoolmasters to instruct the children of all classes of persons in reading, writing, rhetoric, and the liberal arts, as well as in the doctrines of religion and the catechism of the Church.

What Luther did for Germany, Knox did for Scotland. The First Book of Discipline, prepared under Knox's direction in 1560,* ordained that every several kirk should have one school-

* Works of John Knox, Laing, Edinburgh, ed. 1848, vol. ii, p. 183.

master appointed, able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue; this if the town is of any reputation. In the upland towns the minister is to take care of the children and instruct them in the first rudiments and in the catechism. The civil authorities were slow to assist in carrying out these beneficent provisions, but in 1633—two years before Boston was looking for a schoolmaster—a parliamentary enactment directed that a school should be established in every parish, and that the lands be assessed for the purpose.

To England we must give a more minute examination.* Here as elsewhere before the Reformation, the schools had been associated chiefly with the various monastic establishments, and had experienced the same vicissitudes of fortune. As early as the seventh century, when Theodosius of Tarsus came to the see of Canterbury, he made the great monasteries seats of learning; and more than a hundred years later, when Charlemagne attempted a revival of learning in France, he drew his teachers from England. In the Danish invasions the schools were carried down in the universal wreck of Christian institutions,

* For study of early education in England, see Hook's Lives of the Archbishops, Carlisle's Grammar Schools, Ackerman's History of the Colleges of Eton, Winchester, etc., Schools Enquiry Commission Report, 1868.

and Alfred's utmost exertions only partially rescued his realm from the ignorance which caused his earnest soul so much solicitude. After the Conquest conventual establishments multiplied —abbeys, priories, chantries; five hundred and fifty-seven new ones were founded between the time of the Conquest and the death of King John (1216). To most of these schools were attached. There were, besides, cathedral schools under the immediate care of the bishop, and schools among the Jews who at that period congregated in all the large towns. It was a Jewish rabbi of the period who declared that the world would not subsist were it not for the babbling of little school children. If the youth of England were not educated up to the standard of the time, it was not for lack of opportunity. The education furnished by these ecclesiastical schools was intended chiefly to prepare youth for the services of the Church. It was what would in these days be called a practical education. It had a "bread-and-butter" basis. In the high schools the students studied Latin, that they might read the writings of the Church fathers; rhetoric, that they might participate in the polemical discussions of the age; music, that they might bear a part in the cathedral ritual. If they learned English, it was because the earlier deeds of gift

and bequest, the rules of the establishment, and the chronicles of its history were in the vernacular.

What they did in the smaller schools we may judge from the deed of foundation of one chantry in Berkshire:

> The chantry chaplain shall teach the children the alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the apostles' creed, and all other things which are necessary to enable them to assist the priest in the celebration of the mass, together with the psalm *De Profundis*, and the usual prayers for the dead; also, in English, the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, seven works of mercy, five bodily senses, and the manner of confession; good manners, to fear God and keep His commandments, especially to refrain from lying, to honor parents, and to serve God devoutly in this church.

If any should be apt and disposed to learn grammar, they were to be taught.

In this last condition is the clew to much in English history. These conventual schools drew their pupils chiefly from the poorer classes; sifted them, selected the most apt, educated them more broadly, first fitted them for and then employed them in the higher services of the Church, whence by an easy transfer they mingled in the statecraft of the realm, and often exerted a profounder influence upon the destinies of the nation than the secular leaders who had

come from the loins of nobles, and who had reached their places of power by the favor of kings, or had cut their way to them with their swords.

In the fifteenth century two causes combined in England to give a new impulse to popular education, and to divert it from its old channels. When the "poor preachers" went over England, scattering copies of Wiclif's Bible and the tracts of his Lollard disciples, they furnished for the first time since Alfred's day a motive to common men to learn to read. When there were no books, save in college and monastic libraries, to know how to read was an idle accomplishment. Not so when it was the key with which they might unlock for themselves the storehouse of God's truth, and gain access to spiritual food for which the burning words of the preachers had everywhere created a hunger. At the same time the monastic establishments had everywhere fallen into disrepute. The epics of Langland and Chaucer, and the more stirring songs and ballads of hosts of obscurer writers, reveal to us what they helped to create—the public sentiment of the times. The whole fraternity of monks and friars was denounced with scorn and deluged with ridicule. In the Vision of Piers Ploughman, Langland had said:

I found there friars, all the four orders, preached the people for profit of themselves. The parish priest and the pardoner part the silver that the poor of the parish should have.*

They were charged with ignorance and greed, with gluttony and lust, and a gradual dissolution was going on long before Henry VIII began his wholesale harrying.

The rise of the new learning stimulated a work already begun, and before Luther's influence was felt grammar schools were being set up all over England. But after the suppression of the monasteries by Henry, the endowment of such schools became almost a fashion. Of the so-called "great" schools of England, Winchester and Westminster had existed from time immemorial and furnished a model for later foundations; Eton was founded in 1440; St. Paul's by Colet in 1509; and in rapid succession Christ's Hospital, the Merchant Tailors', Shrewsbury, Rugby, Harrow, and the Charter-House; while of lesser foundations there were still in existence thirty years ago two hundred and eighty-eight schools established before the settlement of Boston.

This widespread popular enthusiasm for education is something as peculiar as it is interest-

* Transposed and spelling modernized. See The Vision, ll. 115–118 and 161–164.

ing. The Reformation in England had leaders, but no leader. Encountering the virile egoism of the Tudors, no less virile in Mary and Elizabeth than in their father and grandfather, on its religious side the development of the Reformation was arrested, and most of its energy was directed into political channels. There was no Luther or Knox, no synod or consistory, to decree universal education, and it was left to private munificence to supply the want which the royal edicts of monastic suppression had created. The founders of these endowed schools were of all classes: men and women, Catholics and Protestants, kings, dukes and baronets, ecclesiastics and merchants. The phenomenon is unique. There was no concert of action—no plan. Here and there, in the cities and towns, silently, one by one, and benignly as the stars in the twilight blossom in the infinite meadows of heaven, these schools appeared. There was not even uniformity of motive. Some were the outcome of selfishness, as the monasteries had been; dying men and women, looking back over lives of greed and cruelty and lust, and forward to "adamantine chains and penal fires," to "torture without end," and "fiery deluge fed with ever-burning sulphur unconsumed," would purchase pardon and oblivion for the misdeeds of life by charitable en-

dowment. The old proverb said, "He steals a pig and gives away the trotters for God's sake."

Sometimes the founders hoped for purgatorial benefits, as in the case of the Stopford Grammar School, where twice a week the boys were to go with the master to church and recite the *De Profundis* and the other services for the founder's soul and the souls of his father and mother. Sometimes a truer piety prompted the gift, as at Kingsbridge, where over the entrance is inscribed, "Lord, what I have 'twas thou that gavest me, and of thine own this I return to thee." Often the motive was a patriotic one—a generous public spirit. The old deeds coruscate with utterances, quaintly phrased, of the desire to raise up godly and learned men for the Church and the state. Again, sympathetic charity prompted other gifts. Men who had raised themselves to wealth and civic honor by trade sought to remove from the path of the poor boys of their native towns the ignorance which had impeded their own career.

As there was variety of motive, so there was endless diversity in the terms of the endowments. Usually limited to a prescribed locality, sometimes the benefits of the gifts were confined to a specified number of boys; often to poor men's children; most often to all children without dis-

tinction. As to support—some called for tuition fees from those who could afford to pay; many were wholly free to all, as at Guisboro, where the deed of foundation decreed that the masters should teach freely all scholars coming to the school, grammar, honest manners, and godly living, "not demanding any penny of them or their parents." The phrase "not demanding any penny" had reference to a custom peculiar to the schools of northern England, and throws a gleam of side light across the manners of the age. In some of the endowments the masters are to teach freely, making no charge to the parents "except cock-pence only," or "except potation-pence." Cock-baiting was a part of the annual routine in the grammar schools of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and some other of the more northern counties, and it was almost universal in France as well. The head master furnished the cock, presided over the sport, and gave an entertainment to the children and parents. On Shrove Tuesday the cock was tied to a post in a pit and pelted with sticks. If a boy killed the cock it became his property; if not killed, the master took it. To provide the cock he received a small gratuity from the scholars; this was *cock-pence*. Sometimes the master made a drinking festival for all the scholars several times a year, and for this the

scholars furnished *potation-pence.* The fees continued to be exacted long after the practices had been abandoned, and in large schools supplied a liberal perquisite.

The schools were called grammar schools because Latin was the staple. But other subjects were sometimes specified. At Enfield the instruction was to be in the arts of grammar and arithmetic. At St. Olave's, in Southwark, the school was "for the education and instruction of children of the parish, as well of rich as of poor, liberally and prosperously in grammar, in accidence, in other lower books, and in writing; also in the Latin and English tongues." At Lewisham was to be taught "Latin, Greek, and Hebrew free," and "writing, ciphering and accounts on payment of two shillings a year." At St. Dunstan's the instruction was to be in grammatical science, and the young ones in spelling until they are fit to learn grammar; but the schools which provided for elementary instruction in addition to Latin were few. A part of the schools were to provide only the rudiments; of the foundation of most of them no records remain. In general it was assumed that the children would be able to read and write before entering these schools. This assumption is of importance, as showing the existence of opportunities more or

less general for previous education. This opportunity was furnished by humble parish schoolmasters and village dames, who eked out a scanty subsistence by guiding the unsteady steps of the "petties and incipients" toward that hill of learning up which there is no royal road. To such a humble seat doubtless went the infant Shakespeare, "a whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping like snail unwillingly to school"; while at the Free Grammar School at Stratford he acquired that "small Latin and less Greek" which Ben Jonson says comprised his erudition.

Although the charters rarely made any distinction of sex, it was generally understood that boys alone would go to the grammar schools.

The basis of these schools was distinctly religious. This is shown by express provisions for religious instruction, as at Chester, where the founder says:

> Mine intent in founding this school is specially to increase knowledge and worship of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children, and for that intent I will that the children learn the catechism.

At the end he says:

> Charge the master that he teach always that is best.

The religious trend of the movement is still more clearly shown in the terms used to describe the

masters to be employed: "Bachelor of arts and in holy orders"; "a priest cunning in grammar"; "a priest to say mass and to keep school"; "a learned schoolmaster, a priest if possible"; "a university man, graduate, and a preacher." Sometimes the requirement was laconic: "A fit man." I know of nothing in all educational literature more profound in philosophy nor more beautiful in expression than this in the statutes of the Surrey school: The master—

shall be a man of wise, sociable, and loving disposition; wise and of good experience to discern the nature of every several child, to work upon their disposition for the greatest advantage, benefit, and comfort of the child; to *learn* with *the love of his book.*

Comparing the effect of the Reformation upon elementary instruction in England with its influence on the Continent, we are struck by the peculiarly English character of the new movement. All English institutions—political, religious, social—are symbolized by one of its great cathedrals. If the traveler, at once charmed and awed, asks the garrulous verger when the minster was built, he is told: "It never was built; it was always building. Even now there are workmen on yonder scaffold." As he looks about him and views the pile from different standpoints, he sees that no period in architecture can claim it for its own. The plan seems

Norman, and the massive walls and columns, the semicircular arches and the great square central tower praise that daring race who from freebooting pirates became the great church-builders of Europe. Another view changes the whole impression. All is Gothic. Here are the slender, graceful columns, the exquisitely carved capitals and moldings; overhead are the pointed arches and vaults, and yonder are the mullioned windows of the Early English. But there is Gothic and Gothic. One star differeth from another star in glory. That transept is not Norman, nor Early English. It is light, airy, delicate; its pinnacles and flying buttresses, its traceried windows, are marvels of design and miracles of execution. Another turn, and the vision of beauty fades. There is only the stiff, formal, perpendicular style of the Tudors, and disappointment becomes disgust as in the choir or chapel one sees the utterly absurd designs of the later Renaissance. Most interesting of all is the discovery, in some obscure place, of a fragment of a wall or some deep-laid substructure, that tell that Cinquecentist, Gothic, and Norman, all built upon an earlier Saxon foundation.

The British Constitution tells the same story. The revolutions have claimed to be but restorations. Every king has sworn to rule by what

Magna Charta calls "the law of the land." William the Conqueror ruled as the lawful successor of the Saxon Edward, and every Norman king swore to keep "the good laws of Edward"; as Canute the Dane and his Gemot at Oxford had reaffirmed the laws of Edgar; as Edgar's legislation found its sanction in reproducing the still earlier laws of Ina.

So with the English Church. There has been no break in the continuity of her history. Changes there have been, great and many—now additions and now mutilations; it has taken on new beauties and new graces; but to-day it is the Church which Augustin set up under the protection of the good Queen Bertha.

And the English language, if not identical with that which Hengist and Horsa spoke to their corsair followers in the isle of Thanet, includes and envelops that as the vast cathedral includes and envelops its earlier Saxon precursor.

Thus deep-seated and instinctive in the English mind is reverence for the past; so that the changes which have occurred in its institutions are like those great secular changes in the earth's relations which can only be measured by centuries.

When the monasteries were swept away, and with them those provisions for education which

the mediæval Church had organized and sustained, it never occurred to any one that there was an opportunity to found a new system of education. With characteristic English directness and simplicity, and English conservatism as well, they took the means already at hand and multiplied them. There had been a few grammar schools from time immemorial; they would substitute these for the defunct Church schools. So they honored the past while serving the present and the future. Nor did they think of modifying greatly the old curriculum. There was no philosophy of education. They were working wholly from a practical standpoint. The age was characterized, as we have said, by intense intellectual activity. There came to be a reverence for learning which may seem to us, and perhaps was, almost superstition. But the mistake was natural. They saw that in the competition of the new age the men of learning were leading, although the learning was chiefly Latin. If they thought the learning was the cause of the success, rather than the power gained in the process, we can not wonder, for they were plain people.

They made no mistake in what they saw. The impulse was a generous one, and to it was largely due the steady progress of the English

middle class in social and political power. But the ruling class in England never rose to the idea of universal education. They made poor-laws and set up workhouses in every parish, and imposed taxes to support the paupers, when the streams of charity which had flowed from the monastic establishments were dried up, but they made no such national provisions to supply the intellectual wants. *Compulsory poor-houses, voluntary schools,* was England's answer to the question, After the monasteries—what?

But a question has arisen recently which demands more specific examination. Mr. Motley, in his enthusiasm for Holland, suggested that the people of New England probably were more indebted to Holland than to England for their school system. Taking their cue from this, other writers have amplified this statement, and some have gone so far as to declare that Massachusetts not only derived her school ideas from the Dutch, but received them by way of New Amsterdam. The line of argument followed by all these writers is that free public schools were universal in Holland, while the educational opportunities in England were of the scantiest kind. The people of Holland are represented as universally educated, while the people of England were universally illiterate. A closer and wider examination

of the conditions would have shown that these opinions were only guesses, with no historical basis. What England did we have already seen. It is probable that Holland at this time was superior to all other countries in the quality of the education it furnished; but the difference is not as great as these modern partisans would have us believe.

The Synod of 1586 had ordered that schools should be everywhere established by the Church authorities. In 1618 the Synod of Dort decreed that schools for instructing the young in Christian doctrines should be provided not only in the cities, but also in towns and country places, where heretofore none had existed. The schools which the earlier Synod had been instrumental in establishing had been confined to the cities, but the city schools, at least the elementary ones, were of no very high order. A historian says of them:

> The method of education in children's schools was of the rudest and most unscientific kind. They were kept either by men or women, and many of the latter could not even read. Before the door a pattern sheet written by the master's own hand had to be hung out, describing, under a penalty, what he was fit to teach, and in addition sometimes a signboard with the word "School" was exhibited, along with a painting representing the schoolmaster himself in the midst of his pupils. Occasionally a rod and ferule were painted on the signboard, with some appropriate motto, such as "Cheap Wisdom," etc.

The middle and poorer kinds of children's schools in the Dutch towns consisted generally of low, small apartments, on the second story, with an outlook on a dirty lane or courtyard, and sometimes even of a damp cellar. In many cases there were separate apartments for the children of the richer and poorer classes. Oftentimes the school apartment served as a sleeping or sitting room, and frequently the mistress kept a small shop for the sale of dainties which the children purchased. If she could not read, she merely drilled the children from memory in the alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the creed, until the children could repeat them by heart, without having learned to read them.*

These Dutch elementary schools are thus seen to resemble in all essential particulars the dame schools of England. Long before the Synod of 1586 had issued its decree, England was dotted all over with free grammar schools. Twenty-two years before, Ascham had published his Schoolmaster. Five years before, in 1581, Doctor Mulcaster, head master of Merchant Taylor's School, one of those endowed grammar schools, had published his book on education, called by the quaint name Positions, one of the most remarkable books on education ever written by an Englishman. He depicts a universal desire of parents of all classes to have their children educated, and deprecates it, and argues at length in favor of limiting the higher education to a selected few—the gifted ones. This was fifty years before the

* Geddes's Life of John De Witt, vol. i, pp. 33, 34.

Boston emigration. Surely these New England people had no need to go to Holland to find inspiration and impulse.

When, in 1585, that famous company of Dutch ambassadors came to London to offer the sovereignty of the new nation to Elizabeth, accomplished as many of them were, Elizabeth herself was more than their peer in polite learning as well as in statecraft, and the courtiers who surrounded her on that brilliant occasion—Walsingham and Leicester and Burleigh and Sidney—were as learned as they were brave, and not a whit inferior even to Motley's hero, John of Barneveldt.

But what of the Dutch on Manhattan Island? Did Boston learn of them? Historians of New York are fond of claiming that in New Amsterdam there was a free public school before Boston called Philemon Pormort, and they point to the documents which they claim show the universality of education. What are the facts?

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company, under whose auspices the country was settled and by which it was governed, bound itself to maintain good and fit preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick. In 1629, in its Charter of Liberties, it laid upon the patroons and colonists an obligation to provide ministers

and schoolmasters. In 1633 there came over with the new Governor, William Kieft—Irving's William the Testy—one Adam Roelandsen, a schoolmaster.* He was appointed by the Classis of Amsterdam, paid by the Dutch West India Company, and kept a school under the supervision and management of the deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church in the colony. That school has been in existence ever since. It antedates our Boston Latin School by two years. But it has never been a public school in the Boston sense. It is to-day what it has always been, a school for the children of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York. It is doubtful if it was ever free to any others, for there were private schools coexisting with it, almost from the beginning. In 1649, two years after our school law, the people of New Amsterdam complained that no schoolhouse had yet been built; that "the school was kept very irregularly by this one and that, according to his fancy, as long as he thinks fit"; and after this school had been in existence twenty-six years, in 1659, the people, still dependent on the foreign company, humbly represent that there is no school in the colony where their children can learn Latin; that there is no such

* Dunshee's History of the School of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in the City of New York.

school nearer than New England; that they can not afford to hire a Latin master from New England, or to send their children thither; so they pray the honorable company to send a man capable of teaching Latin. The company graciously acceded to their request, and classical learning at last found a place among the good burghers of New Amsterdam. But before this time there were half a score of flourishing Latin schools in Massachusetts, and seventeen classes had been graduated from Harvard College.*

Coming back, now, from this extended survey of education in the Old World to answer the question, "Where did the Massachusetts Puritans get their ideas of popular education?" we observe that they did not evolve those ideas from their own consciousness. Neither the compulsory policy nor the arguments by which it was supported were of their own originating. Neither were they pioneers in the scope of the education which they proposed. All these matters had been under discussion for a century in the literature of the Reformation. Their neighbors in Scotland and on the Continent had already reduced

* For an extended discussion of the relative claims of Massachusetts and New York, see articles Public School Pioneering, in The Educational Review, 1892, April, June, October; 1893, March.

their principles to practice, while in the elementary and grammar schools of England they had themselves received an education which they would make universal. But when we say that the colonists of Massachusetts brought from the Old World their ideas of education and of schools, we have not stripped them of their glory. In Germany, in Holland, and in Scotland schools were imposed upon the people by authority. The compulsion came from princes, synods, parliaments. But in Massachusetts the people established the educational system for themselves and their posterity. Edward Everett declared that the Massachusetts Assembly which appropriated £400 to found Harvard College was the first body in which the people by their representatives ever gave their own money to found a place of education.

More than this, Germany, Holland, Scotland, and England were old communities. The people were comfortably settled in ancestral homes. They were worshiping in churches rich with the tributes of mediæval piety, and hallowed by the sacraments of centuries. Social and domestic relations were crystallized into shape by immemorial customs. Industries were established and the currents of trade were in the main flowing in channels worn long before. While great

political questions were still in agitation, the ordinary course of civil administration was settled, and for each nation there was a common law whose precedents were hoary with age, and under whose shelter the people found a satisfactory measure of security. What a contrast to all this did Massachusetts present in 1647! But a few years before, their homes were of logs, and their metropolitan church was plastered with mud and roofed with straw. They were clearing lands, building roads and bridges, mills and fish-weirs. They were exploring the wilderness for new sites for settlement, and searching for new resources to develop. All social relations were demanding readjustment under the new conditions. New problems were constantly arising in Church and state. The familiar common law needed to be supplemented by much special legislation, which, though homely, was essential to the good order of the community. More perplexing than all this were the questions forced upon them by intruders and dissentients; and outside of all were the perpetual menaces to their very existence from the savages around them, and from their ecclesiastical and political enemies across the water.

Herein is the superabounding glory of these men; not that they had convictions—for these they shared with a great multitude—but that they

had the courage of their convictions, and that that courage mounted with the occasion. Not the pressure of material needs, not poverty, not domestic nor foreign complications, not fightings within nor fears without, not any or all of these blinded them for a moment to the necessity of educating their children, nor hindered them for a moment in making the completest provision for it. From the hour in which they set foot in Massachusetts, they felt that they had a country; and they began to plan for posterity before the grass was yet green on the graves of the earliest victims of the first New England winter, who, as Cotton Mather said of the sweet Lady Arbella Johnson, "took New England in their way to heaven." When we consider the provision for education made during the first seventeen years of the history of this commonwealth, we honor the fathers for their faith, their patriotism, their courage, and their liberality, more even than for the largeness of their views and the profound sagacity of their plans.

LECTURE II.

SCHOOLS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

HAVING discerned the foundations which the fathers laid for their educational system, we come now to see what manner of structure they built upon it.

In their theory of education they were in line with the foremost of the reformers, and, as we have seen, this line was far in advance of the existing practice at the time of their expatriation. Universal opportunity for education was the utmost that even the charitable founders of the endowed schools aimed to secure by their gift.

The Massachusetts Puritans went further, and decreed universal education, but when they came to provide the means for such education they set up such schools as they had been familiar with. Bryce has said, "Everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past." As the student of our political institutions is struck by the fact

that their founders broke with the past so little, the student of our educational history observes the same fact, and finds that the early schools of New England are studied best in Old England.

When the lawmakers of 1647 spoke of grammar schools, they meant such schools as they had already started, and these were such as they had been educated in at home. Winthrop came from Groton, in Suffolk. At Bury St. Edmunds, close by, was a free grammar school founded by Edward in 1553. At Eye, in the same county, was one founded before 1556; while at Sudbury there was another, founded by one William Wood a year before Columbus discovered America.

John Cotton came from old Boston. There was a free grammar school, and Cotton, a few years before, had been one of a committee to select an usher for it. Endicott, of Salem, came from Dorchester. There was a school founded in 1579, "a free school with a learned master for children of all degrees." Dudley, of Roxbury, came from Northampton. There was a school, founded in 1541, to teach boys who desired to learn, freely.

Hooker, of Cambridge, who led his flock through the wilderness to the Connecticut, came from Chelmsford, in Essex. There, too, was one of the good Edward's free grammar schools,

founded in 1551. At Halsted and Colchester, too, in the same county, were similar schools. From the neighborhood of these came most of the early settlers of Cambridge.

In view of these facts it is amusing to read, in Mr. Douglas Campbell's book on the Puritans, that in the absence of any schools in England the Puritans, before their emigration to Massachusetts, must have educated themselves and their children.

The statement is frequently made that Massachusetts, by its law of 1647, established a system of free public schools—the first in the world. The colonists did establish a system of schools; they were public schools, and many of them were free schools; but, paradoxical as it may seem, there was at first no system of free public schools, because the law made public support permissive rather than compulsory.

Schools had been begun in nearly all the towns before 1647, and after that date new schools were added as the necessity arose. With perhaps a single exception, these were all public schools—the people's schools. The initiative was taken by the people as citizens—taken in town meeting and recorded in the town records. The town voted to have the school; the town determined the grade of the school; the town chose

the master and fixed his compensation; the town, through its officers, inducted him into office, and arranged all the details of the school economy.

This was all done as a matter of convenience, not of right—not at all with any conscious reference to any theory of local autonomy. It is important to dwell upon this point. There has grown up an exaggerated notion of the rights of towns, especially in regard to schools. In Massachusetts, towns have no rights, and never had any, save such as have been conferred by statutes.

De Tocqueville, in his study of American Democracy, was deceived by appearances into seeing an analogy between the Federal Union and the individual States. He assumed that the State is an aggregation of units—the towns being the units, as the Federation is an aggregation of States. This is not true, legally or chronologically. The towns were not first settled, then grouped into the State. The State was first, as a legal entity. The territory was the territory of the State, and the supreme authority was in the State. Instead of the towns being the source of power, and delegating power to the State, as the State has done to the United States, the towns are but creations of the State, and under its sanction "live and move and have their being."

The State, or the General Court, which was the State, deemed the towns most suitable agents to carry out its policy of universal education. The towns were required to provide schools, as they were required to provide churches, and to keep watch and ward against the Indians.

While the schools were thus public schools, their peculiarly English character is most strongly marked in the manner in which they were supported. We notice the absence of uniformity, and we are impressed by the fact that, at first, direct taxation for their support was not universal.

Of seven grammar schools established before 1647, no two were supported in just the same way. In Boston there was first a subscription by the wealthy citizens, Sir Henry Vane and Governor Winthrop heading the paper;* then there was the income from leased town lands;† then incomes from funds left by will to the school; and, lastly, when there was not enough from all

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* Second Report of Boston Record Commissioners, p. 160, note.

† The appropriation of income from leased town lands, from fishing privileges, etc., common in the early history of the Massachusetts schools, resembles the appropriations for schools from "the common good" in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.—See Grant's History of the Burgh Schools in Scotland, p. 456.

these sources to make up the master's salary of £50, a town rate was levied for the balance. There is nowhere any reference to tuition fees.

Of Cambridge, we read in New England's First Fruits, "And by the side of the college a fair grammar school for the training of young scholars and fitting them for academical learning, that still as they are judged ripe they may be received into the college." *

This school seems to have been supported wholly by tuition fees. In its earliest years the only public grant is an appropriation by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to pay for the instruction of some Indian youths.† But in 1648, the school being small and the master's income consequently scanty, the town sold some land for his benefit, and six years later levied a rate to help him out.‡

In Charlestown # three sources of income are apparent (1647): the rent of some islands, the income from the Mystic weir, and a rate.

In Dorchester ‖ there was the income from leased lands on Thomson's Island, which the

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* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. i, First series, p. 247.

† Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 366.

‡ Ibid., p. 367.

Frothingham's History of Charlestown, pp. 115, 116.

‖ History of Dorchester, Boston, 1859, p. 420.

General Court had given to the town. And there were bequests by generous people; there is nothing at first to indicate either tuition fees or a town rate. It was purely an endowed school, but endowed by the people themselves.

In Salem,* parents subscribed as they were able and felt disposed, and the town by rate provided for the children of the poor.

In Ipswich† the grammar school was supported by income from rents, lands, annuities, and tuition fees to make up the needed amount. The town has still some school income from these ancient leases.

In Roxbury‡ the grammar school was never public; the wealthier inhabitants founding the school, binding their estates for its perpetual support, only their own children receiving the benefit of the school freely.

In all these cases the town rate—the general tax—was used only to supplement the other sources of income, to eke out otherwise too scanty resources. There seems to have been no objection to the rate, but the people naturally followed the customs with which they had been

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* Felt's Annals of Salem, i, p. 164.

† Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton, p. 83.

‡ Dillaway's History of the Grammar School in Roxbury, pp. 7, 8.

familiar at home. School lands, school funds, and school fees were traditional ideas, so they started in the old way, and in many cases continued in that way for more than a century.

Dedham, early in its history—in 1644—set up a free school, and built a house for it, and supported it by a general tax.* It furnished elementary instruction in English, writing, and the art of arithmetic. The tax was levied semiannually, and the master's pay was two thirds in wheat and the other third in other corn. In extreme weather the master was permitted to keep the school in his own house, and in the heat of summer he might use the meeting-house, on condition that he left it clean and mended all the windows that his boys broke.

But the conditions in New England tended to make the schools everywhere, sooner or later, wholly free and supported by tax. Common lands, available as sources of town income, were gradually sold. Population increased more rapidly than the income from testamentary properties, so that the needs of the schools, in most instances, outran their fixed revenues. Private benevolence lacked incentive when law made schools compulsory, and a town rate could be

* Dedham Historical Register, vol. i, p. 86.

depended upon to provide means for their support. Tuition fees from the rich and free tuition for the poor made class distinctions too prominent in a new society, where in church and state all were equal. Support by town rate was simpler, easier, and more uniform than by any other method.

All these causes, peculiar to the colonial conditions, tended to change the English schools to American schools as we know them to-day. The change came more rapidly in some cases than in others; less rapidly in the commercial towns than in the newer agricultural communities. Each locality worked out its own problem in its own way, until all at last reached the same result under the law which made support by town rate permissible but not compulsory.

When this result had been reached, about the middle of the eighteenth century, Massachusetts stood alone in the world. Excepting New Hampshire, which was so closely identified with Massachusetts as to be thought of with it, no other State in the Union had a free-school system. Connecticut had public schools, but they were not free until later. New York had no public-school system of any kind at this time, and had no free-school system until a century later. The

European systems furnished free schooling only to the poor.

It is significant that in many of the towns the grammar school was the first to be established. Until recently it has been supposed that corporate provision for elementary education was the exception, but as the early records are studied more carefully it becomes evident that such education was general. Sometimes English was taught in grammar schools; this seems to have been so at first in Boston, an usher being appointed for the purpose, after the English fashion. In Ipswich an English school was coeval with the grammar school; this was chiefly for older children. In Charlestown, Watertown, and Dedham we know that elementary instruction was furnished from the beginning, and this was true of all the smaller towns.

In a contract with a teacher for the Roxbury grammar school,* the master covenants "to use his best skill and endeavor, both by precept and example, to instruct in all scholastical, moral, and theological discipline the children of the proprietors of the school—all A-B-C-darians excepted."

It seems to have been generally understood

* Dillaway's History of the Grammar School in Roxbury, p. 30.

that children would be taught to read before attending the grammar schools. Very early there appeared that other English institution so familiar, so closely associated with memories of childhood—the dame school; and before many years this was made a part of the public-school system.

It will be interesting now to follow a child in one of the larger towns, during the first century of colonial existence, through his pupilage. At four or five years of age, clinging to the fingers of some older brother or sister, he toddles away from his own dooryard to the humble cottage where the road to learning was supposed to begin. It was such as Crabbe described—

> "Where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits—
> Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay
> Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
> At this good matron's hut the children meet,
> Who thus becomes the mother of the street:
> Her room is small, they can not widely stray,
> Her threshold high, they can not run away;
> With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
> And to her gown the sturdiest rogues can pin."

Suspended by a string from the wall is the single object which was in embryo all that the Massachusetts statutes now designate by the phrase "text-books and supplies." It was the

Hornbook,* an English classic when Shakespeare wrote. In Love's Labour's Lost, the schoolmaster, Holofernes, is proved to be "lettered" because he teaches boys the Hornbook. This first round in learning's ladder consisted of a card set in a frame, having printed on it the Roman alphabet, capitals and small letters; below, the vowels, large and small; then the familiar Ab, Eb, Ib, etc. Following these the benediction—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen." Then came the Lord's Prayer, and sometimes, at the bottom, the Roman numerals. The whole was covered with a thin, translucent sheet of horn, to preserve it.

So Shenstone describes it:

> "Their books of stature small they take in hand,
> Which with pellucid horn securèd are,
> To save from fingers wet the letters fair";

while Prior describes a more pleasing form of the same instrument:

> "To master John the English maid
> A hornbook gives of gingerbread;
> And that the child may learn the better,
> As he can name he eats the letter."

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* See Halliwell's Notices of Fugitive Tracts, in Percy Society Publications, vol. xxix, p. 30, frontispiece.

The good dame, as she knits or sews or spins, listens to each child in turn as he calls the letters in their order. She entertains him with stories from the Bible, and strives with moral precepts to bring him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

The older children have brought from home their primers, in the earliest days made in England, but after 1660 for nearly two hundred years printed widely in New England—the famous New England Primer. The first edition was plain, but soon and always afterward illustrated with cuts.

This little book was a perfect *vade mecum* of what the Roxbury trustees called "scholastical, theological, and moral discipline." Beginning with the alphabet, large and small, the vowels and consonants and combinations of these, there followed lists of words for spelling, first of two syllables, then of three, then of four, then of five, ending with "abomination," "justification," etc Then followed some moral injunctions: "Pray to God," "Hate lies"; then some Bible questions and answers—"Who was the first man?" then selections from the Proverbs, arranged alphabetically —"A wise son," etc.; then the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, Watts's Cradle Hymn; then miscellaneous hymns—"Now I lay me," etc. Proper

names of men and women, for spelling, followed. Then Agur's prayer, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." Last, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, so called. I remember that when a child I was compelled to learn it, and I wondered what a longer one could be like.

The poetical selections varied in different editions. There was considerable variety, too, in the pictures: the frontispiece in some was a child repeating his evening prayer at his mother's knee; in others, several children standing before the mother, while still another represented a school —a dame school. A Primer printed in 1777 has a portrait of John Hancock, President of the American Congress.

Each had a series of cuts illustrating prominent Bible scenes, with couplets condensing the narrative, as—

"In Adam's fall
We sinnèd all."

A picture of John Rogers at the stake was another cheerful feature, with the "nine small children and one at the breast," and some editions had a long metrical posthumous address to his children. The whole was called An Easy and Pleasant Guide to the Art of Reading—a title which has been applied to many a primer published since.

The Primer mastered, by dint of much persuasion and at the cost of many tears, the boys are now too large to be longer restrained by bands of yarn or to be pinned to the good matron's apron. They are seven or eight years old, and the Latin School opens its doors to them—but not to the girls. Their education is finished if they can read the Primer through. The boys bring to the master's school a Psalter and a Bible; they will need no other English books; they will read these every day till they go to college. They will cipher, too, a little. The master will dictate a problem, and the boys will work on it till they dig it out. But this work is only incidental; this is a grammar school, and Latin grammar is the be-all and the end-all.

Master Cheever, of New Haven, has made a little book—A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue. It is known as Cheever's Accidence, and the New England people—always favoring home productions, and always furnishing a home market for the best—printed eighteen editions of this before the Revolution.

We are to fancy our Latin School boys, in the earlier days, in the master's house, working their way through Cheever's Accidence, then plunging into the dreary wilderness of Lilly's Grammar, with its twenty-five kinds of nouns, its

seven genders, its fifteen solid pages of rules for gender and the exceptions, its twenty-two solid pages of declensions of nouns, all of which must be committed to memory, not at the point of the bayonet but at the end of the ferule. Cotton Mather says, "Persisting in the use of Lilly's book will prolong the reign of the ferule."

For reading Latin the boys had first The Colloquies of Corderius, whose name had a sweet savor to the New England worthies, for Corderius had been Calvin's tutor, and a famous teacher in the schools of the Reformers. They read Æsop, too. Then followed Eutropius—his short history of Rome. Soon they began the making of Latin, using exercise books; then, in turn, Cæsar, Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero; for Greek, the grammar and the Testament and some Homer. All this was to fit them for the university, as the law required.

The university fixed its requirements for admission as follows:* "Whoever shall be able to read Tully or any other such like classical author at sight, and correctly and without assistance to speak and write Latin both in prose and verse, and to inflect exactly the paradigms of Greek nouns and verbs, has a right to expect to be ad-

* Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. i, p. 515.

mitted into the college, and no one may claim admission without these qualifications."

So much classical knowledge every town of a hundred families was to provide, and by a law of 1683 a town of five hundred families must have two such schools and two writing schools.

It was a long and dreary road—seven or eight hours a day, with scanty recesses, few holidays, and no vacations. Only benches without backs for the lower classes. It was a long, steady, persistent pull uphill. It meant dogged industry, persistent application, resignation to the inevitable. A child who had begun with learning in his Primer the definition of "Effectual Calling," and had followed this by committing Lilly's Grammar, had acquired no rose-colored views of life; had learned to spell "work" with a capital W, and to print it in italics. If the boys, quickly succeeding each other, came into these New England homes "trailing clouds of glory," surely "the shades of the prison-house" began early to close about them, and long before they became men they must have perceived "the vision splendid die away, and fade into the light of common day."

One peculiarity of all these schools we may notice in passing. The boys were obliged to find fuel in winter. So much was required even in the

schools called free, and it was declared by the authorities that if any parents neglected to send wood, their children should have no benefit of the fire; and if they sent log-wood, the boys must cut it up.

The teachers of the earlier schools were men, and men of no ordinary capacity and experience. Some of them had been clergymen. All were scholars, and most of them had been educated at old Cambridge. As soon as the infant college at new Cambridge began to bear fruit, to the honor of the pious Harvard, its graduates found places in the schools as well as in the churches.

Brother Philemon Pormort, who was first called to the Boston school, seems to have been an active participant in the theological discussions of the Ann Hutchinson controversy, and followed her adherents to the infant settlements in New Hampshire. It required intellectual capacity of no mean order to handle one's self in that tempest, and an associate of Mistress Hutchinson, with her mystic speculations, of Vane, with his youthful fervor, and John Cotton, with his subtle dialectic, must have been worthy to stand at the head of the long line of Massachusetts schoolmasters. His successor, Daniel Maude, had been a nonconforming preacher in

England, and after a few years' service in the Boston school resumed his ministry at Dover.

Pre-eminent among all the teachers of the early schools, pre-eminent among the New England teachers of all times, stands Ezekiel Cheever,* a ripe consummate flower of the Puritan epoch. Born in London while the Pilgrims were sojourning in Leyden, a blue-coat boy at Christ's Hospital, he came to Boston in 1637, and taught for more than thirty years in New Haven, Ipswich, and Charlestown. Then, in 1670, he took the Boston Latin School, which he taught for thirty-eight years, until he died at his post at the age of ninety-four, after continuous service in the New England schools of seventy years. He was buried from his schoolhouse; was followed to the grave by the Governor and all the dignitaries of church and state; was eulogized in a sermon and elegy by his pupil, Cotton Mather, as no schoolmaster was ever eulogized before or since.† "Ink is too vile a liquor," said the great preacher in his elegy; "liquid gold should fill the pen by which such things are told."

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* For biography of Cheever, see N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xxxiii, p. 164 (April, 1879); vol. xli, p. 65 (January, 1887); Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. i, p. 297.

† Boston Public Latin School, Historical Sketch and Catalogue, Appendix, p. 275.

That he was a good Latin scholar his little book proves—used for more than a century throughout the colonies. Mather says:

> "Were grammar quite extinct, yet at his brain
> The candle might have well been lit again."

There are indications that he was in sympathy with Ascham and Milton in their efforts to advance education. He was more patient with the slow boys, less severe and brutal with all boys, than schoolmasters of the age were wont to be. He never sunk the man and the Christian in the pedagogue. Full to the brim with Puritan theology—he wrote a book called The Scriptural Prophecies Explained—he labored diligently to help his boys to become Christian men. "He taught us Lilly, and he gospel taught."

So, after training up a whole generation of Boston's sons, he was gathered to his rest, full of years and full of honors. Making all allowance for Mather's ostentatious grandiloquence, we today in this city, whose character he did so much to mold, revere his memory as that of a wise, learned, pious, faithful schoolmaster. As Aristotle said of Plato, "he was one whom all good men ought to imitate as well as celebrate."

It would be too much to say that all the early masters were like Cheever, but they were all scholarly after the fashion of the times, and all

deeply imbued with that religious spirit which characterized the Puritan epoch. Their whole training tended to this. Their college studies were the studies of a divinity school.* There was some mathematics — arithmetic and geometry; some natural science—physics and astronomy. All the rest was along the line of the humanities. Grammar and logic and rhetoric; politics and ethics; Chaldee, Hebrew, and Syriac; biblical and catechetical divinity—all this wealth of learning was at the service of the children.

There is another feature of these schools which must be noticed: they were under the constant and vigilant supervision of the ministers. The minister was a town officer, as the teacher was. He was employed for the religious instruction of the people, and the children were a most important part of his charge. So he visited the school regularly, frequently questioned the children on the sermon of the preceding Sunday, and periodically examined them in the catechism and in their knowledge of the Bible. Sometimes the children were required to go to him for this purpose.

The ministers regarded this relation not only as a duty but as a right. When, in 1710, the Bos-

* Pierce's History of Harvard University, Appendix, p. 6.

ton people chose five men as inspectors to visit the Latin School with the ministers, although the ministers were to pray with the scholars and "entertain them with some instructions of piety specially adapted to their age and education," Increase Mather was highly incensed at the innovation, and after declaring that the ministers were the fittest persons in the world to be the visitors of the schools, pettishly declared that he would not go with the lay inspectors, but would go when he pleased, and would go alone.

So the children were enveloped, at home and at school, week days and Sundays, in an atmosphere saturated with religion, or with religious forms and services and ideas and language. When a neighbor or a kinsman dies, Judge Sewall puts all the children—Samuel and Betty and Hannah—into the carriage and drives away to the funeral, two or three hours long, that no opportunity be lost to impress the solemn verities of life and death and the grave and the hereafter. When, after patient search, he finds that the cause of the stoppage of the water-spout on the roof is the lodging in it of a ball, he sends for the minister and has a season of prayer with his boys, that their mischief or carelessness may be set in its proper light, and that the event may be sanctified to their spiritual good.

Powers of darkness and of light were struggling for the possession of the soul of every child; there was no time to lose. Every opportunity must be improved by parents, ministers, and teachers to pluck the children as brands from the burning. Hell with its physical torments, heaven with its no less selfish allurements, stood always in their sight with open doors, and the cries of the lost were mingled in their ears with the song of the redeemed and the music of harpers harping with their harps.

If it sometimes happened that the very attempt to make the child religious defeated itself —that the imagination strained to too high a flight lost its power to fill with meaning the formulas of doctrine, that familiarity with the solemn and awful deadened the sensibilities to spiritual influences, so that character and conduct remained unchanged in spite of the religiosity of the age, it was only what might have been expected.

I remember visiting a high school and being shocked by the general irreverence and disorder during the opening exercises of devotion. To my surprise, the first class-exercise which followed was one on Christian Evidences.

When once a committee was appointed to see if the instruction at Harvard remained true to

its earliest motto, "For Christ and the Church," they reported that the Greek Catechism was recited regularly by the Freshmen, and that Wollebius's System of Divinity was diligently pursued by the other classes, while on Saturday evening, in the presence of the president, the students repeated the sermon of the foregoing Sabbath. Yet the committee were compelled to lament the continued prevalence of several immoralities, particularly stealing, lying, swearing, idleness, picking of locks, and too frequent use of strong drink.* From all which we learn a lesson for our own times—that an education directed by the clergy, environed by ecclesiastical sanctions, breathing the atmosphere of ecclesiastical rites, and making instruction in ecclesiastical dogma imperative, is not necessarily a religious education, and holds no necessary relation to the development of Christian character.

In the smaller towns, which were not required to maintain a school, or at most only the English school, the opportunities for education were less favorable. In some of them no town school was kept during the earlier years of settlement, the parents instructing the children at home, or employing some man or woman who was willing for

* Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. i, p. 319.

a few pence a week to start the children in the Primer and the Psalter.

There is a tradition in one town that the children learned to write on white-birch bark, and were taught in rotation a week each by all the men who could read. Often the minister added to his other duties the work of teaching, especially the teaching of Latin, in the towns which had no grammar school.

This seems to have been universally the case in the Plymouth colony. The old colony, less populous and less wealthy than its younger neighbor, made no public provision for schools for fifty years after its settlement, though schools of some sort were early in existence.* In 1663† the General Court proposed unto the several towns of its jurisdiction, as a thing they ought to take into their serious consideration, "that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up to train up children to reading and writing." But the towns seem to have taken little notice of the suggestion.

In 1670‡ the profits from the Cape Cod fisheries were set apart for a free school, and a gram-

* Plymouth Col. Rec., vols. i and ii, p. 37, February, 11, 1635. History of Plymouth County, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 1150.

† Ibid., vol. xi, p. 211.

‡ Ibid., vol. v, pp. 107, 108, 259, 260; vol. xi, pp. 233, 237.

mar school was soon after established at Plymouth. Seven years later,* thirty years after the Massachusetts law, the General Court authorized towns of fifty families, which chose to have a grammar school, to support it partly by rate, and required towns of seventy families which had no such school to pay a fixed sum to the nearest town which had one. By the same act the profits of the fisheries were divided among the towns supporting such schools. The threefold method of support is here fixed by law: fixed revenues, tuition fees, and a town rate. From this time onward the educational history of the two colonies is one.

As we enter upon the eighteenth century, after seventy years of colonial history, we feel that the atmosphere has changed. There is less enthusiasm for learning than the first settlers had. There is a manifest decline in school spirit. This is apparent in the legislation and in the records of the county courts.

In the re-enactment of the colonial laws, which took place soon after the reorganization of the government under the Province Charter,† the penalty upon the towns for neglecting to provide

* Plymouth Col. Rec., vol. xi, pp. 246, 247.

† Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, i, p. 63.

a schoolmaster was fixed at £10. In 1701,* after declaring that "the observance of the school law was shamefully neglected by divers towns, and the penalty thereof not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, whereof grievous complaint is made," the General Court increased the penalty to £20.

It would seem that not infrequently the towns, to evade the law, had appointed the minister to be the schoolmaster. To meet this, it was enacted that no minister of any town should be considered the schoolmaster within the intent of the law.† At the same time, all justices of the peace and all grand juries in the counties were enjoined to special vigilance in the execution of the law. Following this enactment, at almost every session of the courts some town was "presented" by the grand jury for neglecting to maintain the schools required by law. This is especially true regarding the grammar school, which came to be considered an unnecessary burden by towns which had just reached the number of families which made the support compulsory.

Various excuses were offered for the neglect—

* Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, i, p. 470.

† Ibid., i, p. 476.

sometimes poverty, sometimes inability to secure teachers; while organized efforts were not wanting to secure a repeal of the law. Some towns persistently refused to support the grammar school, preferring to pay the penalty as cheaper. To meet these cases the penalty was heavily increased a few years later.

To one familiar with the early history of our State this decadence of the primitive ardor does not seem strange. It would seem more strange had the high level been maintained, for during these seventy years the little bark of state had been tossed on troubled waters. The educational history of Massachusetts is projected on a somber background. Scarcely had the colonists become settled in their new homes along the bay before dissensions among themselves brought the whole enterprise into hazard—dissensions so sharp, differences of opinion so radical, as to reach down to the bed-rock both of their civil and ecclesiastical foundations.

The agitation of these controversies had scarcely subsided when new clouds appeared along the English horizon. The banished dissenters carried back to England exaggerated stories of the intolerance and independence of Massachusetts. The rival claimants to her territory pressed their suit, and the colonists would have lost their char-

ter, and with it all possibility of building the structure they had planned, had not Charles been more concerned to save his crown than to crush the colony.

Thus the second decade went by. The rule of the Parliament promised a period of peace; but a new trouble arose, and the third decade found the people stirred over the Quaker invasion. Hardly were these sad days over when the Restoration brought new political dangers, and for the next thirty years the leaders in the colony were taxing their ingenuity to the utmost to avert the blow which fell at last, when their cherished charter was annulled and they were left to the tyranny of Andros and his myrmidons.

During this same period heavier calamities had fallen upon them in the terrible struggle known as King Philip's War. Four years of anxious solicitude were followed by fourteen months of continuous and unmitigated horror. As the messengers came in quick succession to the patriarch Job, each telling of a new calamity, until he was stripped and desolate, so from north, east, south, and west, every day, sometimes almost every hour, brought news of villages burned and their inhabitants massacred, or of the troops sent to their rescue ambushed and butchered. From one end of the colony to the other the people in

their dreams heard the war-whoop of savages and the crackling of flames, and saw the tomahawk and the scalping-knife doing their bloody work. Happy were they if they were not wakened to the reality.

When all was over, more than half a million dollars had been spent, thirteen towns had been destroyed, six hundred buildings burned, and six hundred men, the flower of the colony, had been killed. Some towns were so impoverished that their share of the colony tax was remitted, and for three years the smaller towns were relieved from the obligation to support the grammar schools.

Only six years later, and the gloom of the witchcraft delusion settled like a pall over the province, and swift upon the heels of this calamity came the war with the French, with Sir William Phipp's disastrous expedition against Quebec, and the new Indian atrocities upon the frontier settlements on the north and east.

Such is the record of these first seventy years, and in them all not one without some danger or some menace of danger. When a French statesman was asked what he did during the Revolution, he replied, "I lived." It was much that the schools of Massachusetts lived through the trying vicissitudes of this first period.

With the close of Queen Anne's War the province entered upon a new epoch, which brought with it changes in the school system whose influence we have not yet outlived. In the early days the fear of Indian invasion had served to hold the settlers somewhat closely together; indeed, in a part of the towns, as in Dedham, the people were forbidden to build beyond a fixed distance of one or two miles from the meeting-house. But now that this danger seemed to be over, the people began to push out into the wilderness.

Outlying portions of the older towns were occupied, and new settlements made so rapidly that between 1700 and 1760 one hundred and twenty-three towns were incorporated, and during the next ten years forty-five more, chiefly west of the Connecticut.

Many of these new towns had no nucleus of population, no village center, the farming settlers scattering themselves widely. In others there were several nuclei, larger or smaller, the people grouping themselves in isolated hamlets, where a fertile spot in the midst of rocks and swamps, a mill privilege or a fish weir, tempted them to settle. Sometimes family ties led a father and son, or brothers, to locate near each other. Sometimes mere social instinct—the desire for neighbors—brought several families into propinquity.

In all these towns, new and old, the school problem presented itself under new conditions in this second century, and the people solved it in their usual hand-to-mouth way, with no calculating of consequences. All the children were to be taught to read, and every town was to have a school. It is probable that there was less capacity for home instruction than there had been a hundred years before. Of the women whose names appear in the recorded deeds of the early part of the eighteenth century, either as grantors of property or as relinquishing dower, something less than forty per cent sign their names; all the others make their mark.*

So we begin to read in the records of "moving schools." The children went no longer to the schools; the school went to the children. At first the towns voted that the school which had been kept through the year in one place, be kept for a part of the year in each of several places. Sometimes the period was equal in each place, sometimes very unequal. Thus, in Scituate (1704), the school was to be kept one third at each end and one third in the middle; so in Amesbury (1711), four months in each of three places; in Yar-

* This proportion has been determined from a careful examination of the registry books in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex.

mouth the school time for five places varied from four weeks to four months. In some of the towns schooling was still more scanty, as in Sutton (1730), where a school "to learn the children to read and write English" was ordered to be kept at the discretion of the selectmen in four places, one month in each.

Not only was the English school thus put on wheels, but in many places the grammar school as well. In Gloucester (1751), the grammar-school instruction for three years was divided among seven localities in the proportion of nine, four and a half, three, one and a half, seven, five and a half, and five and a half months. One month and a half of the grammar school in three years —what a boon! But these far-away people paid their taxes and demanded their share of the benefits, though that share be ever so small. They would have justice, though the heavens fall.

The child who began his Latin grammar and spent his six weeks on it would have run some risk of forgetting his part before the three years came round; but we know that in some towns provision was made by which those who cared to do so might follow the school on its travels, and, like the English drum-beat in Webster's metaphor, "keep company with the hours throughout the year."

In the earlier apportionment of the school's time the terms "angles" and "squadrons" are used for the divisions of the town. The expression "to squadron out the schools" is not an uncommon one.* Afterward these names were superseded by the word *districts*.

When this division of the school time was made, and in many towns for a long period, there were no schoolhouses in the squadrons; but after a time it was made a condition of having a school at all, that the squadron should build a schoolhouse.† This tended to fix the limits of the districts.

Another step was taken by which the disintegrating process was hastened and confirmed. The moving school was the town school, sent on its travels by a vote of the town, and with the limits of its stay in each locality fixed by the same vote. Usually the same teacher taught throughout the year—a veritable "peripatetic philosopher." But about the middle of the century, or a little earlier, some of the towns were divided into districts,‡ and each district was al-

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* In Sutton (1735), a committee was chosen "to squadron out the schoolhouses."

† So in Gloucester in 1751.

‡ Haverhill, 1712; Worcester, 1731; Gloucester, 1735; Brimfield, 1736; Boxford, 1739; Abington, 1755; and Grafton, 1785.

lowed to draw its share of the school money and spend it as it liked. Thus the selection of the teacher, his pay, and the time when the school shall be kept, are taken out of the hands of the selectmen and the school ceases to be a town school.

Not only is the amount of schooling diminishing, but the quality is evidently deteriorating. The moving school does not attract the best men. Special inducements are offered. Professed schoolmasters—notice the word—are by law exempted from taxes (1692); next, from militia duty (1693); then, from watch (1699). On the other hand, fences are found necessary to keep out the unworthy. The grammar master must be approved by the minister of the town and of the two next adjacent towns, or two of them.* He must be not only good, but conspicuously good. Here is the first compulsory certification of teachers known in our history.

Another section of the same law marks a decided change in the conditions, and also declares a principle of the highest importance. The act declares that keepers of schools must be of sober and good conversation, and must have the allowance and approbation of the selectmen, under a

* Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, i, p. 470.

penalty of forty shillings. The phrase "persons who keep schools" is significant. Before this we have read in the laws only of schoolmasters, but the tendency to lift the burden of school support from the parents to the public had been working, and early in the eighteenth century we begin to find such entries in the town records as "Paid Widow Walker ten shillings for schooling small children";* "Paid for boarding school-dame, at three shillings per week";† "Paid for a horse to carry the school-dame up and bring her down again."† That is, the towns had absorbed into their public system that primitive institution, the dame school.‡ This is not universal. In some of the larger towns no public provision for the youngest children was made for another hundred years.

The employment of women was made more general by the scattering of the population. If it was difficult to find men willing to itinerate with the grammar schools, although they might be employed the year through, it was impossible to find men willing to teach the little neighborhood schools for a few weeks or months at a time. For these the school-dames were indispensable.

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* Woburn, 1694. † Winchendon, 1768.

‡ Weymouth, 1700; Amesbury, 1707; Bradford, 1710; Worcester, 1731; Wenham, 1746.

Mendon (1732) voted to choose school-dames to teach school in the outskirts of the town. Westford (1764) voted to hire a school-dame the following six months, to keep the school in six parts of the town. Far out on the frontier, in Northfield (1721), where now those magnificent institutions honor the wisdom and the liberality of Dwight L. Moody, the first teacher was Mrs. Elizabeth Field, the wife of the smith. She had a class of young children twenty-two weeks in the warm season, at fourpence a week. While teaching, she made shirts for the Indians at eightpence each, breeches for her husband's brother at a shilling and sixpence per pair, and cared for her four young children.

Now that primary education is becoming a public matter, it attracts the attention of the Legislature, and the state recognizes its duty and declares its rights. It affirms its purpose to protect the stream at its source. Not only must the masters be approved, but all keepers of schools—not only keepers of schools supported by the public money, but keepers of private schools as well. So we find frequent entries in the records that certain women are allowed and approved by the selectmen to keep schools for young children.*

* Billerica, 1718. The selectmen gave leave to John Hartwell's wife "to keep a school to instruct children to read" (Hazen)

This early declaration seems to have been strangely overlooked in recent discussions. If, for the protection of the children and the good of the State, the teachers in the public schools must be known to be persons of good moral character and competent to instruct, why not the teachers of the private schools for the same reason? If public policy requires that the State must know what kind of persons peddle tinware and keep junkshops and exhibit wild animals in a tent, why should it allow anybody to open a school who can entice parents to send their children to it, and make no provision by which the public can even know that such a school exists? It has been argued that State inspection of private schools would lead to a demand for State support; but State approbation and oversight of private schools no more implies State support than licensing a circus justifies a claim for a subsidy.

All these processes which we have been observing went on with varying steps, under varying conditions, as the towns multiplied: new towns imitating the old; settled masters in the larger communities, itinerant ones in the more sparsely settled; school-dames, sometimes at public expense, sometimes at private; short schools in the outskirts, longer ones in the villages;

until the gathering storm of the Revolutionary period absorbed all attention. The public thought was held to political questions until the long struggle was over, independence secured, the province changed to a commonwealth, the Union established under a Constitution, and the national era begun.

In the State Constitution itself the framers recognized the existing system in all its parts, and reannounced the principles declared by the fathers:*

"Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of Legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University of Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns."

No sooner had the pressure of war been removed and the agitations of Constitution-making

* Constitution of Massachusetts, chap. v, section 2.

subsided, than the old subject of popular education came again to the front, and in 1789 * a most elaborate school law was framed, crystallizing into statutes all the principles and practices which had been slowly evolving during the past hundred and fifty years.

The new law followed the old in graduating its requirements to the population of the towns. Towns having fifty families must furnish each year six months' schooling by a master; this might be in one school or many; for the larger towns a longer aggregate time was prescribed. These were English schools. Besides these, towns of two hundred families must support a grammar schoolmaster. The older school law had required instruction only in reading and writing; the new law prescribed reading, writing, the English language, orthography, arithmetic, and decent behavior. Except by special direction of the selectmen, no youth might be sent to the grammar school unless they had learned elsewhere to read.

The masters of all these schools must be graduates of some college or university, or they must produce a certificate of qualification from a learned minister of the town or neighborhood;

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* Laws of Massachusetts, 1789, June 25th.

and, besides, they must produce a certificate of moral character from a minister or from a selectman of their own town.

The august General Court condescends to consider children in the most early stages of life, and ordains that the masters or mistresses of schools for this primary education must also be approved as persons of sober life and conversation and qualified to teach. Towns are authorized to divide their territory and fix the limits of school districts.

For the first time provision is made by law for regular official supervision of the schools, either by the ministers and selectmen, or by committees specially chosen for the purpose. All the schools must be visited as often as once in six months, and "the diligence and proficiency of the scholars" determined. Neither the teachers nor the pupils could complain of the curious proviso that reasonable notice should be given of the time of the visitation.

Comparing the new law with the old, we see that the standard is that of a degenerate age. Whereas in the early colonial days there was a permanent English school in every town of fifty families, now only six months' schooling is demanded, and this may be subdivided indefinitely. Whereas each town of a hundred families must

have supported a permanent grammar school, where boys could be fitted for the university, now all such towns below two hundred families need keep only the English school, and might fritter away the twelve months in driblets.

Had the old law remained in force, every town in Bristol, Dukes, Nantucket, and Suffolk Counties, nine of eleven in Barnstable, twenty of twenty-five in Berkshire, twenty of twenty-two in Essex, seventeen of twenty-three in Franklin, thirteen of sixteen in Hampden, eighteen of twenty-one in Hampshire, thirty-five of forty-one in Middlesex, seventeen of nineteen in Norfolk, sixteen of seventeen in Plymouth, forty-four of forty-nine in Worcester—two hundred and thirty of two hundred and sixty-five in all—must have supported the grammar schools. By the change of a single word, one hundred and twenty of these towns were exempted from obligations which some of them had borne for a hundred and fifty years. The free and open path to the university was closed to the boys of a hundred and twenty towns, and for some of them it has only recently been opened.

Another significant fact about this law, as indeed of the earlier laws, is that all which seems new is only an embodiment of sentiments and practices which had already become popular.

All the principal towns had established schools before the law of 1647 made them compulsory. Towns had been forming districts for fifty or sixty years. They had been employing women to teach for a longer time. They had been providing free primary schools, and they had been choosing committees for school purposes—regularly or periodically—through all their history, and they had been teaching all the branches now required. The new law only legalized existing practices. The school system had been developed by the people freely, and not under the stress of legal enactments. Here is the essence of government by the people, and no better illustration of it can be found in all our history.

However the dominant Calvinistic theology of Puritan Massachusetts may have theorized concerning "fixed fate" and "foreknowledge absolute," practically it recognized in every village community a free moral agent, acting out its own volitions and drawing upon itself the consequences of its own freedom. Out of this grew the individuality so characteristic of Massachusetts towns: some open to new influences, looking always toward the east, ready to welcome the rising sun, generous in sentiment and in provision, always in the van of social progress; others narrow, petty, parsimonious, burning incense to the

past rather than offering sacrifices to the future; not because they reverence the past so much, but because incense is cheaper than oxen and sheep, or libations of wine and oil.

It is in this latter class of towns that popular government is not an unmixed blessing. Here public opinion is proved to be not always the best judge of public interest, and public sentiment not always to tend to conserve or promote the public good. Where ignorance and selfishness dominate, institutions suffer, and thousands of children in Massachusetts have been defrauded of the best part of their inheritance from the fathers, by the narrow selfishness of the communities into which it was their misfortune to be born. Evidence of this will accumulate as we proceed in our survey.

While most of the provisions of the law of 1789 were but sanctions of existing practices, and have been modified by subsequent legislation, the law contained one section wholly new in its letter, but focusing in itself all the traditions of the Reformation period, and gleaming still out of the dullness of the public statutes.

MORAL INSTRUCTION.

It shall be the duty of the president, professors, and tutors of the University at Cambridge and of the several colleges, of all preceptors and teachers of academies, and of all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavors to impress on

the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety and justice and a sacred regard to truth; love of their country, humanity, and universal benevolence; sobriety, industry, and frugality; chastity, moderation, and temperance; and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society and the basis upon which a republican Constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to endeavor to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a republican Constitution and secure the blessings of liberty as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendency of the opposite vices.

These men, who had just fought through to a triumphant issue the battle for civil liberty and the right of self-government, who had enthroned the people, were not intoxicated by their success. They knew that a corrupt and wicked king might hold his power indefinitely, but not so a corrupt and wicked people; so they would build about their infant republic bulwarks of personal integrity and virtue, that thus the public weal might be conserved.

Entering upon the new era of national and State history, they set as a corner stone of their educational system the declaration that what men are, more than what they know or what they have, determines the perpetuity of nations. Here is the reply to all charges against the public schools that their influence does not make for righteousness.

There rests upon every instructor of youth an obligation as solemn as can be placed by human authority upon any person to use his opportunity to make virtuous men and women. Whatever else he may do or leave undone, he can not shift or evade this responsibility.

In place of the catechisms and creeds of the earlier days, Massachusetts has put the example and precepts of the instructors of her youth as her chosen means of securing the blessings of liberty to succeeding generations.

LECTURE III.

THE DISTRICT SCHOOL AND THE ACADEMY.

THE half century from 1790 to 1840 is the picturesque period of Massachusetts educational history. In the prelude to Dr. Holmes's ophidian story, Elsie Venner, you remember, there is a description of a "deestrick skule" in Pigwacket Center, from the mastery of which the handsome young medical student moved onward and upward to more congenial work in the Apollinean Female Institute in a distant town.

The institutions of which these are types—the district school and the academy—are the two foci about which move in orbits of greater or less eccentricity all the educational events of the time. Exerting a profound influence upon the generation which was trained in them, they have affected scarcely less strongly the imagination of the generation which has followed them. The traditions which gathered about them and the embellishments of literary art to which they readily lent themselves have idealized them into

the source of most that is great and good in New England character.

We have already marked the early stages of evolution both of the school district and of the district school. We heard the scattered families and the isolated hamlets calling for school privileges, and we saw the master sent upon his rounds to keep the "moving school." We saw that later, in many towns, lines were drawn squadroning out the territory; and to the people within these lines their share of the school money was given to use as they saw fit. But for a century all this was informal—*de facto,* but not *de jure.*

We saw that in 1789 this division of districts was sanctioned by law. A law which sanctions also invites, and rapidly, after this, district divisions were fixed. But the new law gave no powers to the district. If a schoolhouse was needed, it must be built by the voluntary contributions of the people. This state of things could not long continue, and in 1800 * the chief element of sovereignty—the power to tax—was conferred upon the people of the school districts. They were authorized to hold meetings, to choose a clerk, to decide upon a site for a schoolhouse, and to raise money by taxation for buying land

* Laws of Massachusetts, February 28, 1800.

and for building, repairing, and furnishing the house.

The next step followed naturally, perhaps necessarily. In 1817* the school districts were made corporations, with power to sue and be sued, to enforce contracts, etc. Ten years later† the structure was completed by the law, which required the towns having districts to choose for each district a prudential committeeman, who should have the care of the school property in the school district, and the selection and employment of teachers. Instead of choosing these men in town meetings, the towns might allow them to be chosen in the districts, and this was usually done.

The school district now, from being a mere social convenience, has become a political institution—*imperium in imperio*. The year 1827, therefore, is a memorable one. It marks the culmination of a process which had been going on steadily for more than a century. It marks the utmost limit to the subdivision of American sovereignty—the high-water mark of modern democracy, and the low-water mark of the Massachusetts school system.

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* Laws of Massachusetts, June 13, 1817.

† Ibid., March 10, 1827.

Two limitations upon the power of the districts should be noticed. The whole amount of money to be spent in supporting the schools of the town was still to be determined by the town, and to be raised by tax under town authority. After being raised and apportioned to the districts there was no responsibility to the town for its expenditure. There was a limitation upon the districts in the employment of teachers. No person could be so employed without a certificate of qualification from the town school committee. But this limitation was nominal rather than real. Thus the school district became a creation of law, and the school more and more a creature of circumstances. It should be remarked that the division into districts was not compulsory; a few towns were never so divided.

Each school district now became a center of semi-political activity. Here was exhibited in all its force what Guizot so aptly terms "the energy of local liberty." The violence of ebullition is inversely as the size of the pot. Questions involving the fate of nations have been decided with less expenditure of time, less stirring of passions, less vociferation of declamation and denunciation, than the location of a fifteen-by-twenty district schoolhouse. I have known such a question to call for ten district meetings, scattered

over two years, bringing down from mountain farms three miles away men who had no children to be schooled, and who had not taken the trouble to vote in a presidential election during the period.

Again, when a teacher has given dissatisfaction to a part of the district, possibly to a single family, a contest has arisen over the choice of a prudential committeeman. Into the discussion have been brought questions the most remote: old family feuds have been revived, and new ones created; all the petty jealousies and rivalries, masculine and feminine, have been brought to the surface, until the whole district is by the ears. The poor little teacher, who was the innocent cause of all the disturbance, has been forgotten, and a social war rages with the bitterness of a Kentucky vendetta and the protraction of an English suit in chancery.

In the choice of a site for the shrine to Minerva, upon one point there was unanimity: the land must be valueless, or as nearly so as possible, for frugality was ever a New England virtue. A barren ledge by the roadside, a gravelly knoll, the steeply sloping side of a bosky ravine, the apex of the angle of intersecting roads—such as these were choice spots, provided one could be

found near enough to the geographical center of the district.

Absolute equality of privilege was the standard aimed at. This was the right for which the embattled hosts were marshaled in the district meetings. The district was surveyed and measured; often the exact distance of every house from the proposed location was determined, that as nearly as possible perfect equipose should be secured—each two-mile family on one side having a two-mile family on the opposite side to balance it.

If this ideal condition was not reached—if, as sometimes happened, the rights of individuals were overborne for the convenience of the majority—a rankling sense of injustice remained; smoldering embers ready to kindle into flame; an old score waiting to be paid off, may be in the town meeting, perhaps in the election to the General Court, possibly in a church quarrel. Within a half-dozen years I have discovered more than one such "ancient grudge" not yet fed fat enough.

The size and architectural features of the building varied with the populousness, wealth, and liberality of the district. Judged by the standard of the present day, they were all too small. It was no uncommon thing to find more

than a hundred children crowded into a room thirty feet square. But the internal arrangement made crowding easy. In the rural districts the fireplace and the door often occupied one end of the room. In the middle of one side was the teacher's desk. Against the wall, on three sides, was a slightly sloping shelf, with a horizontal one below, and a bench without back in front. On the bench the older pupils sat; on the sloping shelf they wrote; on the one below they kept their books. Thus, in writing, they faced the wall. Another lower bench in front served for a seat for the younger pupils who did not write.

Thus the school was arranged on three sides of a hollow square. How many pupils the room could hold depended on how closely the children could be packed upon the benches. In the center of the square the classes stood for recitation.

In another type of schoolroom the seats were arranged in long rows across the room, in terraces, the back seats only having desks in front; the older scholars thus overlooked the younger ones, the teacher having an elevated platform opposite. The descent of the pupils from their high seat to the floor, coming in contact, perhaps, with some unconsciously extended foot, was often sudden and precipitate.

The seats and desks were of native wood, pine

or oak, worked out by hand, unpainted, never elegant, often rude in the extreme. When the carpenter's work ended the boys' work began, and in process of time the furniture was carved with an elaboration of tracery which the most enthusiastic devotee of Sloyd might hope in vain to excel.

The amount of schooling enjoyed in any district depended, first, upon the liberality of the town in its annual appropriation; and, second, upon the method of distribution which the towns adopted. It is a curious fact that the State never prescribed the mode in which the school money should be apportioned among the districts. An interesting statement, prepared by Mr. Mann and published in his eighth report,* sets the individuality of the towns in the clearest light.

More than thirty different modes of apportionment are reported: in one town, according to the number of houses in the district; in others, according to the number of families; in several, the number of ratable polls was the basis of division; and in one, the number of able-bodied persons over twenty-one, not paupers. In many towns the money was divided equally; in others,

* Eighth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, p. 79.

the basis was the number of children of school age; and in as many more the districts received back what they had paid in taxes. These last two methods bore heavily upon the poorer and the more sparsely populated districts. A majority of the towns endeavored to equalize the school privileges by combining two or more of these methods, distributing a part equally, and a part according to the valuation or the number of children, or both. Frequently a sum was set aside to be used at the discretion of the selectmen or the school committee to aid the poorer districts.

But, in spite of this, there were districts whose school money was the merest pittance. As late as 1844 several districts are reported as receiving less than ten dollars, and one received only five dollars and sixty cents, to provide its children with schooling for a year! Each district aimed to get the most for its money; quality and quantity were likely to be in inverse proportion. A cheaper teacher meant more weeks of school; so that the phrase by which the law described the work of the prudential committee, "to contract with the teacher," was most expressive.

In the largest towns the schools "kept" the most of the year. In the great majority there was a winter term of ten or twelve weeks, attended by the older children, and kept by a mas-

ter; and a summer term of equal length, kept by a woman, for the benefit chiefly of the little ones. In the poorer towns a single term of two or three months was all that was furnished, and some of the poorest districts had but a few weeks.

During the period under consideration there was some broadening of the school work. Up to 1789 the elementary schools had been required to teach only reading and writing; most of them had taught the boys some arithmetic; the new law made arithmetic compulsory, and added the English language, orthography, and decent behavior. In 1827 geography was required for the first time.

Early in the present century the catechism, the Psalter, and the Bible were almost universally displaced by the Spelling Book and the Reader. This change had been going on gradually for many years. The general unity of religious doctrine which had characterized the people during the first century had given place to a diversity. Within the churches themselves theological views became rife which to the stanch adherents of the old faith recalled the ancient heresy of Arius and the more recent though not less dangerous errors of Socinius and Arminius. During the French and Indian wars contact with British army officers had leavened the communi-

ty with the prevalent English deism, and during the Revolution, and subsequently, the friendly association with France had scattered widely the more pronounced infidelity of the French philosophers.

Under the influence of these changes in sentiment the Calvinistic New England Primer gave way almost everywhere to the Spelling Book—chiefly Perry's or Dilworth's, both of English origin; these in their turn yielding place to that most famous American classic, the blue-backed Spelling Book of Noah Webster. Not without strenuous opposition in some towns the Psalter and the Bible were replaced by some of the many reading books which began to be made soon after the Revolution, and which have been pouring forth in ever-increasing numbers to the present time.

Pre-eminent among these early readers were The American Preceptor and The Columbian Orator; and, later, The American First Class Book had wide acceptance. The titles of the books appealed to the national spirit, evoked by the stirring events of the Revolutionary and Constitution-making period, while the contents of the books were adapted to foster and develop the same spirit.

For example, The Columbian Orator contained

that famous speech of Colonel Barre on the Stamp Act, in which he so indignantly denied the assertions of Townshend that the colonies had been planted by the care, nourished by the indulgence, and protected by the arms of the mother country. It contained no less than seven extracts from the speeches of Pitt in opposition to the measures of George III and his ministers. It had speeches by Fox and Sheridan and Erskine; it had parts of the address of President Carnot at the festival in Paris which celebrated the successful establishment of the French Republic, and the congratulatory address to the United States in the same year, with Washington's reply, and it had the most significant portions of Washington's Farewell Address.

The First Class Book, if less stirring in its appeal to patriotism, introduced the pupils to the newly risen stars of American literature in the prose of Irving, the poetry of Bryant, and the pulpit oratory of Buckminster and Channing; while in Scott and Byron and Campbell they became acquainted with the newest in the literature of England.

The importance of this change in the New England schools can not be overestimated. Its influence was deep and abiding. The substitution of the selfish and sordid aphorisms of Frank-

lin for the Proverbs of Solomon and the divine precepts of the Sermon on the Mount; the declamations of Webster and Pitt for the lofty patriotism of Moses and Isaiah; the feeble reasoning in ethics of Mrs. Barbauld and Hannah More for the compact logic of Paul's Epistles; the tinsel glitter of Byron for the upspringing devotion of David; and the showy scene-painting in the narratives of Scott for the simplicity of the gospel story of the life of Christ—such a substitution could not take place without modifying, subtly but surely, all the life currents of the community.

Not only in language, but in arithmetic, books by native authors superseded those in use. In place of Hodder's, which had been common, the famous treatise prepared by Nicholas Pike, of Newburyport, and published in that town in 1788, gained wide acceptance, aided, no doubt, by flattering testimonials from George Washington, Governor Bowdoin, and the Presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth Colleges. It was a portentous volume of five hundred and twelve pages, almost encyclopedic in its mathematical range. Besides arithmetic proper, it introduced the student to algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and conic sections. Applications of the arithmetic are made to problems in all forms of me-

chanics, gravity, pendulum, mechanical powers, and to such astronomical problems as the calculation of the moon's age, and the time of its phases, the time of high water, and the date of Easter.

The labor involved in the computation of ordinary business transactions at this period is almost appalling. The money units were the English; two pages only are given to Federal money, as it was called, which Congress had just established but which had not come into general use. Nine kinds of currency were in use in commercial transactions, and the students of this arithmetic were taught to express each in terms of the others, making seventy-two distinct rules to be learned and applied.

Under the title Practice, which is described as "an easy and concise method of working most questions which occur in trade and business," the learner is required to commit a page of tables of aliquot parts of pounds and shillings, of hundredweights and tons, and a table of per cents of the pound in shillings and pence. These tables contain more than a hundred relations, and the application is in more than thirty-four cases, each with a rule, of which the following is an example:

"When the price is shillings, pence, and far-

things, and not an even part of a pound, multiply the given quantity by the shillings in the price of one yard, etc., and take parts of parts from the quantity for the pence, etc., then add them together, and their sums will be the answer in shillings, etc."

Under the topic "Tare and Trett" is the following rule, unintelligible to the present generation:

"Deduct the tare and trett, divide the suttle by one hundred and sixty-eight, and the quotient will be the cloff, which subtract from the suttle, and the remainder will be the neat."

This book gave tone to all the arithmetic study of the district-school period, and is responsible for that excessive devotion to arithmetic which has of late been the subject of just complaint. It is characterized by an almost endless elaboration of cases and prescription of rules. There are fourteen rules under simple multiplication, and in all the book three hundred and sixty-two. The understanding of the pupil is taxed, and sometimes severely, to grasp the meaning of the rule. No hint of a reason for the rule is given, except in an occasional foot-note; but there are problems which tax the mathematical capacity to the utmost.

A majority of the district-school pupils, es-

pecially the girls, ciphered only through the four fundamental rules, with a short excursion into vulgar fractions. If they penetrated into the mysteries of the rule of three, they were accounted mathematicians; and if in later and degenerate days one ciphered through Old Pike, he was accounted a prodigy; and if he aspired to teach, all doors were open to him.

Grammar and geography were learned in almost all the schools, though not by all the pupils. Harvard College, in 1816, extended its requirements for admission to include a knowledge of ancient and modern geography. This forced it into the fitting schools, and made it attractive to the more ambitious students in the districts. Morse's Geography was most common, and Murray's Grammar in some of its many abridgments. The study of grammar culminated in parsing, and Pope's Essay on Man and Milton's Paradise Lost became familiar hunting grounds for the pursuit of linguistic subtleties, and arenas for the display of grammatical jugglers and acrobats.

Spelling had been little taught, but in the period which we are describing it became a craze, absorbing into itself most of the interest and enthusiasm of the schools. Not only in the regular school exercises was it prominent, but it overflowed its bounds and reveled in evening spelling

schools, and brought into rivalry and friendly combat neighboring districts, which sent their champions to contend in orthographic tournaments.

Of the teachers of these schools there were three classes. A majority of the winter schools were kept by men who might be called semi-professional teachers; that is, they reckoned on the wages of a winter's teaching as a regular part of their annual income. In a certain irregular way many of them were itinerants. In the course of a long life they taught in all the districts of a number of contiguous towns—sometimes keeping the same school for two or three successive winters, making a new contract each time. There were many roving characters, who journeyed more widely, in search of novelty or because a prophet is more honored among strangers than in his own country. Such a one was Ichabod Crane, a Connecticut schoolmaster, but domesticated in Sleepy Hollow. During the larger part of the year these men were engaged in farming or in some mechanical industry.

Another class was made up of students, who, by dint of labor in the district schools in the winter and in the hayfield in the summer, contrived to work their way through the academy and the college. So the students of medicine

and law and divinity helped to pay their way. There are few of the older professional men today who, among the reminiscences of their callow youth, have not some associated with their keeping a district school.

The summer schools were almost always kept by women. A majority of these were young, ambitious girls, eager for a term at the academy, which they must earn or go without—independent girls, who liked to show that they could do something for their own support in the only way then open to them. For most of these good men were waiting, and they found ample room to exercise all their powers and to satisfy their noblest ambitions in making homes. For some, alas! Providence planned no such career, and they grew old and passed into the sere and yellow leaf as "schoolmarms"—sometimes sweetening as they ripened, sometimes quite the contrary.

The wages of the teachers varied widely. Ten or twelve dollars a month was common, though in rare cases, in wealthy districts, a man of experience and more than usual culture earned twenty. Women received from four to ten dollars. Besides this money payment the districts boarded the teachers. By this arrangement the district supplemented the scanty town appropriation and secured a longer school. Usually the teacher

"boarded round" among the parents of his pupils, proportioning his time to the number of children who attended his school. Under these conditions the master acquired a knowledge of family history, an acquaintance with the domestic affairs of the neighborhood, which even the doctor and the minister might envy. He learned discretion and a power of self-adaptation as he passed from the more comfortable homes of independence and refinement, through all the social grades, finding taste and neatness and intelligence among the poor, coarse abundance associated with ignorance, and sometimes shiftlessness and poverty and pride going hand in hand. Time would fail to describe the agonies and delights of this most unique system.

As to the qualifications required to teach these district schools, the law made good moral character and competence to teach the branches indispensable; but custom and necessity prescribed two others, which obscured the legal demand. For women, the surest passport to employment was to be related by blood or marriage to the prudential committee of the district. His daughters or his sisters, of course, had first consideration; then his nieces, then his wife's connections to the remotest degree of consanguinity. No little friction sometimes accompanied these

family arrangements, but the district was powerless until the next annual meeting, when it might choose another committeeman, by having votes enough, and thus substitute a new dynasty.

For men, to keep the winter schools, the highest qualification was pluck. You recall Dr. Holmes's description of the gladiatorial combat in the Pigwacket school, in which the master routed the combined forces of Abijah Weeks, the butcher's son, and his "yallah dog." The story is a typical one. Ask any man who has taught a district school, and he will remember, or imagine he does, just such a scene.

Such life-and-death struggles are as inseparably associated with the little red schoolhouses as they are with the ruins of the Roman amphitheaters. As the early Christians were stretched by the rack, and boiled in oil, and roasted over slow fires, and stung to death by bees, and torn to pieces by wild beasts, so the young man beginning a term in a new school expected to be tormented by the older boys. If, like Bernard Langdon, beneath a scholarly exterior, he concealed the skill of a trained athlete, he might surprise his antagonist by an unexpected display of pugilism. But if he lacked the muscle or the courage, his work as teacher came to an ignominious end. When the boys had "put out" two

or three masters in succession, the school acquired a reputation of being "hard," and the committee were forced to canvass widely and pay liberally for a man who had "fought with beasts at Ephesus" and had conquered. That these conditions were not rare, is shown by the fact that in, 1837, more than three hundred schools in Massachusetts were broken up by the insubordination of the pupils or the incompetence of the teachers.

Such, in general, were the district schools. We may profitably stay for a moment to ask and to answer the question, What did they do for the education of the Massachusetts boys and girls? Whether we mean by education the acquisition of useful knowledge merely, or the culture of intellect and feeling and will which ultimate in thoughtful, skillful, and righteous men and women, we must answer that these schools, even the best of them, did little.

Looking at Massachusetts society in the last generation, it is easy to find men of mark, professional men of great ability, and men who laid broad and deep the foundations of the great business interests of our State, commercial and manufacturing; men and women, too, capable of appreciating great moral truths, and rising to the level of the sublimest personal sacrifices for the

sake of truth. It is easy, too, to see that through all the communities where the district schools flourished there was a high average of general intelligence and moral thoughtfulness. Knowing how prone we all are to argue from Tenterden steeple to the Goodwin Sands—*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*—it need not seem strange that men have argued that these characteristics of individuals and communities were due to the work of the district schools.

But if we think, we are forced to see that, if every effect must have an adequate cause, there is no proportion of adequacy between the school work and these effects. The knowledge which an average boy or girl could acquire or retain, in ten or twelve weeks' study, for each of ten or twelve years, each period of study separated from the next by forty weeks of something else, must be scanty under the best conditions; and the training of powers, mental or moral, could at best only be intermittent and desultory.

But when besides the meagerness of opportunity, we consider the unfavorable physical conditions, the crowded, unhealthy, uncomfortable rooms, the inexperience and ignorance of most of the instructors, the mechanical and dreary, often meaningless task-work which went by the name of study, we are forced to conclude

that other influences must have been at work—that we may have overestimated the district school.

The power and majesty with which the Mississippi sweeps by New Orleans to the Gulf were not brought by it out of Lake Itasca. But let us give the lake credit for what it did do—it set the rill a-flowing. So did the district school. It gave to the children of the generation the key to the world's thought in the world's literature. What that key was worth depended upon what use they made of it.

Edmund Stone, a distinguished man of science, was taught to read by a servant of the Duke of Argyll. Here is his story: "I first learned to read; the masons were then at work on your house. I approached them one day, and observed that the architect used a rule and compasses, and that he made calculations. I inquired what might be the meaning and the use of these things, and I was informed that there was a science called arithmetic. I purchased a book of arithmetic, and I learned it. I was told that there was another science called geometry. I bought the necessary books, and I learned geometry. By reading, I found that there were good books of these two sciences in Latin. I bought a dictionary and I learned Latin. I understood,

also, that there were good books of the same kind in French. I bought a dictionary and I learned French. And this, my lord, is what I have done. It seems to me that we may learn everything when we know the twenty-six letters of the alphabet."

Abraham Lincoln, learning little but his primer at school, found within himself a hunger for books, and in succession and slowly read and absorbed the Bible, Pilgrim's Progress, Æsop's Fables, a Life of Washington, and Plutarch's Lives. Here was an education in itself.

So the district school opened to the children a very narrow way into the world's knowledge—set the door just a little ajar. Where, back of the school, was a home in which not for twelve weeks but for fifty-two, not in winter alone but all the four seasons through, there was a father or a mother setting a high value upon education, because they had it or because they lacked it, ambitious for their children and stimulating them to do their best; where, back of the school, was a long line of educated ancestry, planting in the children scholarly instincts and perpetuating them through generations, blood always telling —the blood of country doctors and lawyers and ministers and teachers: where these conditions existed the door was pushed wider open, and in

broader fields of opportunity the work of education went on.

Sometimes there came into the life of the pupils in these schools a personal influence strong and lasting. Some gentle, patient, sweet-voiced and sweet-mannered girl, teaching the little ones in a summer school, so impressed her personality upon their minds and hearts that they worshiped her. Through all their lives they reverenced womanhood as idealized in her. I have heard old men speak of such with tears, showing that her image in their memory has over it the saintly nimbus. Among the student teachers, too, were ardent, enthusiastic ones, full of moral earnestness, who struck fire when they found a flint; who appreciated the scholarly instincts when they found them, encouraged the boys and girls, gave them special help and direction, and drew them to higher levels of thought and action.

But for the slow and the dull, for the children of ignorant parents with no heredity for culture, especially in the remoter districts, the district school scarcely threw a glimmer into the darkness.

Two positive evils resulted from the district system, where it was fully established. It was fatal to a broad and generous public spirit. When the conduct of church affairs had been

given to the parish, the care of roads and the care of schools to the districts, there was little left to the town to do, and the town spirit waned before the narrow and petty local interests. The spirit of progress during the last half century has found in this narrowest of provincialisms its most persistent and bitterest opposition. This has been true not only in educational matters, but along all lines of social and business development. There came to be among the districts a jealousy of each other, and in the smaller and outlying districts a suspicion and jealousy of the central and more populous districts, which effectually hindered the progress of reform. A looker-on in the town meetings would be impressed by the dog-in-the-manger spirit which often characterized the words and votes of the people who lived outside the village centers. What they could not personally enjoy they would combine to prevent others from enjoying. This is one cause of the deadness and decay of towns. From a social consideration the creation of the district as a political unit was an unmixed evil.

On the educational side the most conspicuous effect of the disintegration of the towns was the disappearance of the old grammar schools. The law of 1789, notwithstanding it freed one hundred and twenty towns from the ancient obliga-

tion to provide free classical instruction, still left that obligation upon one hundred and ten towns. But in 1824 * a new statute exempted, too, from this burden all towns having less than five thousand inhabitants. At this time one hundred and seventy-two towns should have been employing a master competent to instruct in Latin and Greek. The new law left but seven towns in the State legally bound to furnish any education higher than the rudiments. These were all commercial towns: Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Marblehead, Gloucester, Newburyport, and Nantucket. As the name *grammar school* disappeared from the statutes, the institution itself also faded out of the memory of the people, and practically there was little public recognition of the value or need of a liberal education. Indeed, in the grammar schools which were still maintained there were but few Latin "scholars." In the Roxbury school, in 1770, of eighty-five pupils but nine were studying Latin; and in Newburyport, at a later period, there were but five Latiners in a school of sixty children.

Several influences had probably combined to produce this reaction. There had been a growing indisposition throughout the eighteenth century

* Laws of Massachusetts, February 18, 1824.

to support the grammar schools. The development of the district system had made it less easy for all the people to share in the benefits of a single school—a moving grammar school could not have been a success—and local jealousy made the people unwilling to plant in one district what all the districts could not equally enjoy.

In the early part of this century began that migration from the towns to Boston, when country boys who had learned industry and frugality on the farms, in spite of the limited opportunities for education, laid the foundations for princely fortunes. From 1810 to 1830 Boston gained nearly one hundred per cent in population. Emerson has sung, "Things are in the saddle and rule mankind." Already "things" were mounting, and material success gained by men with scanty learning made literary culture seem a luxury rather than a necessity.

The ministers were less potential than in the early days, and could do less to stem the current. More than this: an itinerant clergy, full of religious zeal, though illiterate, by the contrast of its spiritual fervor with the coldness of the more highly educated regular ministers, tended to bring college learning into disrepute. Added to all these was the poverty which followed the Revolution, and from which in the first quarter

of the century the people at large were only just recovering. Public spirit was not broad and high enough to induce people to tax themselves for what all could not enjoy and what many deemed unnecessary.

While the free public schools were in this state of decline, a new institution came into being—the incorporated academy. It has an honorable place in Massachusetts history. In its inception it reminds us of the early grammar schools in England. In 1761 William Dummer, dying in Boston, left by will his mansion house and farm in Newbury for the establishment of a free school to be maintained forever on the estate. This William Dummer * came of an ancient and honorable colonial family, and had been Lieutenant Governor during some of the stormiest years which preceded the Revolution. He had received his own education in the Boston Latin School, and later had resided for several years in England, where he probably became acquainted with the form of school which he afterward founded, and where perhaps he first conceived the idea of his own benefaction.

In accordance with the terms of the will, the

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* First Century of Dummer Academy. A Historical Discourse by Nehemiah Cleveland, Boston, 1865.

Dummer Free School was opened in 1763, and Samuel Moody was called from York to be its first master. Among Master Moody's earliest pupils was Samuel Phillips, of Andover.* Fitted for college at the Dummer School, he graduated from Harvard at nineteen. He at once took an active part, with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and during the succeeding years of the Revolution he was ardently serving the colonial cause. At the same time he was preparing for loftier service. Through his influence a school was founded at Andover, in 1778, by the munificent gift of three brothers, Samuel Phillips, of Andover, John Phillips, of Exeter, and William Phillips, of Boston. It was called the Phillips School, but in 1780 it was incorporated by the Legislature under the name Phillips Academy. Two years later the Dummer School was also incorporated under the new name Dummer Academy.

The use of the word *academy* as applied to these new schools has been traced by the late Rev. Charles Hammond, of Monson, to the endowed schools of the English dissenters.† These

* Taylor's Memoir of Judge Phillips, Boston, 1856.

† New England Academies and Classical Schools, by Rev.

people had been excluded from the old foundation schools, and had been forced to provide classical training for themselves. Mr. Hammond suggests that they probably received their first suggestion of a name for their new institutions from Milton's Tractate on Education, in which the great dissenter called his ideal school an academy.

Following close upon the incorporation of Phillips and Dummer came the founding of the scarcely less famous Leicester Academy,* in 1784, and in rapid succession Derby, Bristol, Marblehead, Westford, Westfield, Plymouth, and New Salem. To three of these, in its act of incorporation, the State had given a grant of land in the District of Maine. Petitions for similar aid came from other towns, and in 1797 † it became necessary for the State to determine the relation of these schools to the public, that a uniform policy might be established by the Commonwealth in its dealing with them. The subject was referred to a committee which reported through Nathan Dane, of Beverly, a man who

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Charles Hammond, A. M., in Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. xvi, p. 403.

* Washburn's History of Leicester Academy, Boston, 1855.

† Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts, February, 1797.

had achieved a national reputation as the author in the Continental Congress of the Resolution of 1787, by which the Northwest Territory was set apart for freedom.

This report favored the continuance of the plan of giving State aid to the amount of a half township to academies founded under certain conditions:

1. There must be a neighborhood of thirty or forty thousand inhabitants, not accommodated by existing academies.

2. State grants should only be in aid of schools which had a permanent fund contributed by towns or individuals.

3. All parts of the State should share alike in the distribution of State aid.

The Legislature adopted the report, and the incorporated academies became in a sense public schools. From this they increased so rapidly that before 1840 one hundred and twelve acts of incorporation had passed the Legislature, authorizing academies in eighty-eight towns,* though not all were opened. They were in every county. Essex had twelve, Middlesex fourteen, Norfolk eight, Plymouth nine, Bristol three, Worcester

* See Report on Academies, by George A. Walton, Agent of the Board of Education, in the Fortieth Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, p. 174.

ten, Franklin five, Hampshire six, Hampden six, Berkshire eight, Barnstable five, Dukes two, and Nantucket one.

The spirit which founded the earlier academies was a resurrection; it was the spirit which moved in John Eliot to cry out, in his prayer at the synod at Cambridge: "Lord, for schools everywhere among us; that our schools may flourish; that every member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town in which he lives." It was the spirit which dictated the dying bequest of John Harvard; which led the Connecticut ministers to lay down their books on the table at Branford, saying, "I give these books to found a college in this colony." It was the spirit of John Knox and of Martin Luther. It was a lofty Christian patriotism, as sagacious as it was fervent, as practical as it was devout. It was that Puritanism which is as old as the ages, resting upon the solid foundations, the glory of God and the welfare of man. No one can read the story of Judge Phillips and Ebenezer Crafts without being moved to thank God and take courage.

The purpose of the founders was primarily to provide a means by which young men could be fitted for college, and through it for the requirements of public and professional life. When

Leicester Academy was founded there was not in all Worcester County an educational institution higher than the district schools. The few boys who were fitted for college learned their Latin and Greek by their own firesides or as they followed the plow, and they recited them to the parish ministers.

But there was a broader purpose underlying this movement. It was the hope of the founders that public sentiment might be stimulated, and that a higher educational standard might be set up. By putting before the youth of the country opportunities for education, they hoped to create a desire for it; and they aimed to furnish to students who could not go to college the elements, at least, of a liberal education.

This is apparent from the list of studies which was included in the acts of foundation:* English, Latin, Greek, and French languages; writing, arithmetic, and geography; the art of speaking; practical geometry, logic, and philosophy; while the possibility of future growth was provided for by the general clause, "Such other liberal arts and sciences as the trustees shall direct."

These schools realized the most sanguine

* Washburn's History of Leicester Academy, p. 12.

hopes of their founders, and justified the liberality of public and private benefactors. In their history English history repeated itself. A few with ampler endowments, and under the impulse of abler men, took a front rank, as Eton and Harrow and Rugby had done, and drew their students from a wider constituency, becoming in a broad sense public schools. Others became only centers of local interest—mere day schools for town pupils.

But they all in varying degree fulfilled their mission. They fitted for college, and served alike the church and state. Dummer, under its first master, educated fifteen members of Congress, two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, one President of Harvard College, and four college professors. Leicester, in 1847, had fitted four Governors, three Supreme Court judges, one college president, and five college professors. Monson numbers among its alumni more than two hundred ministers of the gospel.

But besides this work as fitting schools, the academies had an immeasurable influence in broadening non-college students. They reached an immense multitude of young people. In 1876 Leicester had received from six to eight thousand pupils, of whom perhaps four hundred had been fitted for college; Westfield had sent out over

eight thousand persons; Lawrence, at Groton, nearly eight thousand; New Salem not less than seven thousand. In eighty or ninety years—three generations—these four schools alone had brought into a scholarly atmosphere, had kept under the instruction of scholarly men and women, for a longer or shorter time, not less than thirty thousand young men and women—ten thousand to a generation; and these are only four of more than a hundred such schools.

When we hear of the scanty opportunity afforded to the children in the first half of the century—the few weeks in the little red schoolhouse under the ignorant and incompetent instructor—we must keep in mind the fact that in every town some of the children, as they reached years of maturity, were receiving the elements of culture. A single term at the academy might serve—often did serve—to give a new turn to life; to open the windows of the mind, often of the soul, to new and refining influences; to make the young man or woman more susceptible to the spirit of progress, which was the spirit of the age. If we ask, in brief, what the academies did—they trained the leaders of two generations.

Besides these direct results, certain indirect and less apparent influences may be traced to the endowed schools. Not only did they hold up a

higher standard of education, but also a higher standard of teaching. The college-bred teachers, who had given character to the early grammar schools, had largely disappeared, and the district schools furnished no opportunity for professional teachers; but with the development of the academies a new class of teachers was developed. Master Moody, for twenty-eight years at Dummer, is a John the Baptist, "suggesting Elias, or one of the old prophets." He ranks with Ezekiel Cheever and Elijah Corlet; and after him Nehemiah Cleveland, Eliphalet Pearson, Joseph Emerson, Samuel Taylor, and Charles Hammond. "There were giants in those days."

It is true that the courses of study were somewhat pretentious, and the methods of instruction and modes of administration would not in all respects commend themselves to our judgment. Josiah Quincy, who went to Phillips in its opening year, says that the discipline was severe and disheartening; that there was no consideration for childhood; that for four years he was tormented with studies not suited to his years. Master Moody knew nothing but Latin and Greek, and cared for nothing else, and, as one of Marryat's boys says of his instructor, "he drove learning into the heads of his pupils as the carpenter drives oakum into the seams of a ship."

"If severe in aught"—and doubtless most of them were—"the love they bore to learning was in fault." But many of them worked out in their own practice, and anticipated some of the best things in modern school life. From them came many of the improved text-books of the period, and they were prime movers in the formation of the educational associations.

The broadening of the earlier educational work in the academy made it possible for the colleges to enlarge the scope of their training. In 1789 no knowledge, even of common arithmetic, was required for admission to Harvard,* though doubtless it was presupposed, nor was the candidate required to know anything of geography. But in 1814 the college called for arithmetic, through the rule of three, and announced that after 1815 it would also demand a knowledge of ancient and modern geography. In 1816 it asked for the whole of the arithmetic. Yale, too, enlarged its requirements about the same time, and both colleges developed largely the English side of their work.

While we recognize the potent agency of the academies in raising the general educational standard of the time, we must admit that in an-

* Leicester Academy Centenary, p. 51, note 8.

other direction their influence was less beneficent. By the affection and respect which they engendered for themselves, they fostered the idea of private schools, and so reacted injuriously.

Samuel Adams, that man of the people, early scented danger in this direction. As Governor, in 1795, in his inaugural address, he said:* "It is with satisfaction that I have observed the patriotic exertions of worthy citizens to establish academies in various parts of the Commonwealth. It discovers a zeal highly to be commended. But while it is acknowledged that great advantages have been derived from these institutions, perhaps it may be justly apprehended that multiplying them may have a tendency to injure the ancient and beneficial mode of education in town grammar schools.

"The peculiar advantage of such schools is that the poor and the rich may derive equal benefits from them; but none excepting the more wealthy, generally speaking, can avail themselves of the benefits of the academies. Should these institutions detach the attention and influence of the wealthy from the generous support of the town schools, is it not to be feared that useful learning, instruction, and social feelings

* Independent Chronicle, Boston, June 4, 1795. Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts, May Session, 1795.

in the early parts of life may cease to be so equally and universally disseminated as it has heretofore been?

"I have thrown out these hints with a degree of diffidence in my own mind. You will take them into your candid consideration, if you shall think them worthy of it."

All that Governor Adams foresaw as possible became actual. Pseudo-academies multiplied, after the type of Dr. Holmes's Apollinean Female Institute, and private schools abounding, withdrew from the common schools the children of all but the poorest families. The wealthier people patronized the tuition schools; the poorest, perforce, got what little they could from the free town schools; while between these extremes pride and poverty struggled with each other, and as one or the other gained the ascendency the children alternated between the two institutions. The scanty measure of education furnished by the town schools led to the founding of the academies. The more the academies flourished the worse became the town schools.

In 1838–'39 there was spent for instruction in private schools—not incorporated—one half as much money as was spent for the common schools; and the scripture was fulfilled which says, "Where your treasure is, there will your

heart be also." People will never willingly and cheerfully support two systems of schools. Whenever the private-school system in any community gets on its side the social and political leaders, it will grind the public schools to the wall, and do it under legal and constitutional sanctions.

The half century in which the district school and the academy flourished is also memorable for the change in public sentiment regarding the education of girls. In the earliest days, when Dorchester set up its town school, it was left to the discretion of the elders and the selectmen whether maids should be taught with the boys or not.* In the exercise of this discretion they tacitly or otherwise decided against coeducation, and until the Revolution girls graduated from the dame schools and early entered upon domestic duties. The district schools in the smaller towns opened their doors to boys and girls alike, but few of the girls advanced beyond reading and writing.

The Revolutionary period started new currents of thinking along many lines, and almost simultaneously in all the larger towns there arose a demand for ampler opportunities for the

* History of Dorchester, Boston, 1859, p. 420.

education of girls. The practical form which the agitation assumed concerned the admission of girls to the master's school. At first towns voted decidedly to be at no expense for educating girls.* Slowly the conservative party made concessions. The boys were sent home an hour earlier in the forenoon and afternoon, and the girls came in; † or the girls came an hour in the morning, before the boys, and on Thursday afternoon (the boys' holiday); this only during the summer months, so tender was the consideration for what, in the language of the time, was called "the female health."

Thus the more ambitious girls worked their way a little into arithmetic and geography and grammar. It was fifty years after the Revolution before girls acquired equal privileges with the boys in the masters' schools of the large towns. Meantime fashion had made some demands, and private schools were set up to add some frippery accomplishments—"finishing schools." They taught a little French, a little embroidery, considerable dancing, and many elegant manners. Families of means sent their girls from the coun-

* History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, 1837–1887, p. 4.

† Chase's History of Haverhill, p. 456 (1792). Brooks's History of Medford, pp. 281, 282 (1776 and 1794).

try to Boston, Salem, and Newburyport to be polished for market.*

But during this time, while the voters in town and district meetings were wrestling with the question whether girls should be taught at all, and were grudgingly giving them a few crumbs from the boys' table; while the more ignorant were derisively asking if the girls expected to carry pork to market, that they wanted to learn arithmetic; and while young women who aspired to be social leaders were trimming the rags of their ignorance with the *passementerie* of Turveydrop manners, some earnest souls had awakened to the conviction that girls might be more than drudges or dolls.

The efforts of William Woodbridge in Connecticut,† the success of girls in the early academies—Leicester, Monson, Lawrence, and Bradford—fostered the idea. The writings of Miss Edgeworth and others still further stimulated it, and within ten years, beginning with 1818, there were established at Byfield (1818) by Rev. Joseph Emerson, at Troy (1821) by Emma Willard, at Hartford (1822) by Catherine Beecher, and at

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* Rev. William Woodbridge, in the American Journal of Education for September, 1830, p. 421.

† American Journal of Education, 1830, p. 422; Annals of Education, 1831, pp. 522–526.

Andover (1829) through the liberality of Mrs. Sarah Abbott, schools for girls, which in breadth of English scholarship and in methods of instruction surpassed any existing institutions of learning, not excepting the colleges.

Mr. Emerson was the first to introduce the topical method of study. Miss Willard pushed her girls into the higher mathematics, and at her school, in 1820, occurred the first public examination of a young woman in geometry. She introduced greatly improved methods of teaching geography and history, and with William Woodbridge prepared the best text-book in geography which had appeared.

Some of these schools were mothers of institutions. At the school at Byfield were Zilpah P. Grant and Mary Lyon. Together they taught the seminary at Derry, N. H. (1824–1828), and afterward at Ipswich, Mass. (1828–1835), until Miss Lyon opened her own school at South Hadley (1837). These schools were pre-eminently religious institutions. Not only was there systematic Bible study, but there was a profoundly devotional spirit pervading all the life, ultimating in consecrated Christian womanhood. There was an exhilaration due to the very novelty of the experience, an enthusiasm as of pioneers, a keenness of appreciation, an intellectual fresh-

ness and elasticity, with an all-absorbing moral and religious earnestness. No one can estimate the influence of all this upon New England life.

It is to these early seminaries that the historian must look to account for the great moral reforms of the century which took so deep a hold on New England life. Not only did Byfield send out Harriet Newell and Mrs. Judson as missionaries to the heathen, but from these schools came the strongest workers against intemperance and slavery.

When Mary Lyon was seeking for a name for her new school at South Hadley, Dr. Hitchcock proposed to call it "The Pangynaskean Seminary." "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Had the name been adopted, the school would have died of ridicule, but the name suggested was grandly appropriate; it told that, for the first time in the history of the English-speaking race, the whole woman was to be put to school.

As the voice of a herald was the voice of Ipswich, and Abbott, and Wheaton, and Mount Holyoke, crying, " . . . Work out your freedom. Girls, knowledge is now no more a fountain sealed!"

LECTURE IV.

HORACE MANN AND THE REVIVAL OF EDUCATION.

HISTORIC events are parts of historic movements, and historic men have built on foundations laid by forgotten workers. This was preeminently true of Horace Mann and the educational reforms usually associated with his name.

The first part of this century is marked by a general quickening of interest in education among enlightened thinkers and the friends of humanity the world over. This interest resulted in an upward movement equally widespread. No classes were outside its influence, and in the grand sweep of its beneficence, and in some of its many phases, it had touched and blessed all lands before Horace Mann had begun to think about the Massachusetts schools.

While the movement may be regarded as one—the same *Zeitgeist* stirring simultaneously many minds in many lands—it had two distinct phases, and each of these manifested itself in several different directions. The motive under-

lying one of these movements was philanthropy, and its object was to widen the sphere of school activities; to reach, with the benefits of education, neglected classes. The motive underlying the other was philosophy, and its aim was to improve existing institutions by broadening the courses of study and substituting more rational methods of instruction and discipline.

A rapid survey of what was happening outside of Massachusetts during the first third of the century will prepare us to understand what happened in Massachusetts later.

To this period belongs the infant-school movement. Started in 1800 by Robert Owen* for the children of his employees at Lanark, fostered by Lord Brougham and other philanthropists, developed in London by Samuel Wilderspin,† it spread to all the centers of population the world over. Infant-school societies were everywhere organized. Purely charitable in their purpose, they took the children of the poor, between the ages of eighteen months and six years, and amid comfortable and pleasant surroundings furnished them with such elementary training as the parents were too poor and too negligent and too ignorant to supply. With similar purposes,

* Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. xxvi, p. 411.
† Ibid., vol. xxviii, p. 897.

and anticipating some of the methods of the kindergarten, the schools combined amusement with instruction and moral with intellectual discipline.

Joseph Lancaster* had set up his famous Monitorial School in the Borough Road, in Southwark, and, gathering a thousand children, had perfected his system of mutual instruction. Filled with enthusiasm, he had become an educational evangelist; had traveled through the United Kingdom, lecturing and expounding his new system (which yet was not wholly new) with such success that monitorial schools became everywhere the rage. Within a few years there were fifty-seven of these schools in London alone, and more than a thousand in Ireland. They were in Sweden, in Switzerland, in Russia, in India and Africa; and in 1825 Lancaster was in the new Republic of Colombia, and Simon Bolivar, the Liberator, had appropriated twenty thousand dollars to found monitorial schools.

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* For knowledge of Lancaster and his system, see Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community, by Joseph Lancaster, London, 1806. The Lancasterian System of Education with Improvements, by Joseph Lancaster, Baltimore, 1821. Monitorial Instruction: An Address at the Opening of the New York High School, by John Griscom, New York, 1825. Epitome of some of the Chief Events and Incidents in the Life of Joseph Lancaster, written by Himself, New Haven, 1833. Reports of the British and Foreign School Society, 1810–1826.

The system had many claims upon public interest and favor. By using the older and more forward children to instruct the younger, the time of the master could be used to better advantage, and each child have more individual attention. There was hardly a limit to the possible size of a monitorial school. An enthusiastic French writer says of it: "It is a masterpiece which must produce a revolution in popular education. . . . It may be styled a manufactory of knowledge. . . . The intellectual faculties of man may be decupled. An invention not less grand and useful than many others which dazzle and astonish us."

In a more matter-of-fact consideration, we may say of the monitorial schools as a whole:

1. They educated large numbers of children at comparatively small expense.

2. They taught children to read quicker than the ordinary schools, though they introduced no new order of steps and made the work no less mechanical.

3. They introduced into early instruction the use of ruled slates and blackboards.

4. They introduced the use of wall charts for teaching reading.

5. They introduced the co-ordinate teaching of reading and writing.

6. They first used written spelling by dictation.

7. They made class work more prominent than individual work, and laid the foundation for modern grading.

8. They made great use of emulation as a motive—rewards and prizes.

9. They discountenanced the use of the rod, but used other forms of punishment not less objectionable.

Among the punishments which Lancaster himself recommends are wooden pillory, wooden shackles, tying the legs together, suspending from the ceiling in a sack or basket, labeling boys for offenses—"Tell-tale Tit," or "Bite-finger Baby"—setting a girl to wash the face of an unruly boy; and he commends the example of the school dame who, wearied with the trials of her calling, was about to retire from the profession when some one suggested a bowl of camomile tea with which to quiet restless children, with the result that "the school continued an example of order and usefulness."

While these charitable schemes for the most elementary education were flourishing, an important movement was in progress at the other end of the line. At Glasgow had been founded a Mechanics' Institute, which had been reproduced

in all the great manufacturing centers. The motto of these societies was a most suggestive one: "To make the man a better mechanic, we must make the mechanic a better man." So it aimed, by lectures, by evening classes, by libraries and reading rooms, to give to men of limited opportunities the benefit of a scientific education —to fit the man for the century.

During this eventful period a still more profound movement was in progress on the Continent. Rousseau's Émile, after being condemned to be burned by the Archbishop and Parliament of Paris, and subjecting its author to banishment, was bearing fruit in the work of Pestalozzi and his disciples. Unlike the schemes of Wilderspin and Lancaster, which magnified devices —devices for organization, devices for instruction —the Pestalozzians were expounding and applying principles—principles which Bacon had announced two hundred years before, but which had found no reception in the schools. At the same time Jacotot was putting into practice in Louvain his methods of teaching languages, and Fellenberg was elaborating his complex Manual Labor School at Hofwyl. The air was full of educational novelties. From all countries philanthropic men and the ambassadors of kings were making pilgrimages to Yverdun and Lou-

vain and Hofwyl. Curious travelers turned aside from viewing picturesque ruins and galleries of old masters, to experience a new sensation in seeing children at school and happy. Verily the word of the prophet was fulfilled, "A little child shall lead them."

The stimulus which these reforms gave to public thought was evidenced in the educational literature which began to be abundant. All phases of education were discussed, and discussed from new view-points and with a deeper insight into the nature to be educated—domestic education, the education of girls, religious education, the education of the defective classes, the blind and the deaf—and out of it all national systems were evolving, which at a later day determined the fate of nations.

The influence of all this activity was felt on this side the Atlantic, and not one of all the schemes of the revivalists but found its patrons and its imitators here. Infant-school societies were to be found in all the cities; Lancaster traveled through the United States, leaving everywhere some of his own enthusiasm, and the monitorial system became universally popular. Not only was it adopted for primary instruction, but for the older pupils in the reading and writing schools of the cities; and, following the lead

of New York city, monitorial high schools were established in many places with the more advanced studies of the academies.*

Joseph Neef, a coadjutor of Pestalozzi, opened a Pestalozzian school in Philadelphia, and published a descriptive book.† In the same city a disciple of Jacotot founded an institute to apply his principles, while the manual labor ideas of Fellenberg found expression in some half-dozen States.* Still following the lead of the Old World, the famous Franklin Mechanics' Institute was founded in Philadelphia (1824), and similar associations began their beneficent work in other cities; educational books multiplied—reprints of European works, and many by native authors.

Coming nearer home, we find that Massachusetts had felt the universal impulse, and we turn now to see by what means and to what extent the fallow ground of the Bay State had been broken up for cultivation by Horace Mann. As in Europe, so here, philanthropy preceded philosophy in producing change, multiplying the means of education much more rapidly and more widely

* See monthly news reports, headed Intelligence, in American Journal of Education, 1826–1830.

† Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education, Philadelphia, 1808.

than its methods were reformed. From this motive had sprung the incorporated academies, and it had compelled a reluctant and ungracious assent to its demands for the better education of girls. It had aroused the social aristocracy of Boston by its demands for primary instruction at public expense, and a little later to a still higher pitch of indignation by calling for a free high school for girls.

It is curious to see how long the higher social circles of the commercial towns—Boston, Salem, and Newburyport—clung to the old traditions, and how they resisted the encroachments of that leveling spirit which would break down the old social barriers. Thus in Newburyport, in 1790, when it was proposed to open primary schools for girls at public expense, the school committee of clergymen, doctors, squires, and captains recommended that all girls who attended these schools should be considered as recipients of public charity. This the town rejected.

In Boston the primary-school movement met with similar treatment. Under the rules, no child could attend the reading and writing schools under seven years of age, nor could any attend who could not read. Dame schools at private expense were expected to provide for these earlier years. In consequence of the disasters of

the Revolution and of the War of 1812, and the immigration of foreigners, there were many poor people who did not patronize the tuition schools. Some charity schools for girls were opened, but in 1817 it was found that there were several hundred children under seven who did not attend school and could not read, and against whom the doors of the public schools were shut.*

Public attention was called to the condition of affairs. A town meeting was held in Faneuil Hall. The matter was referred to a large committee, of which the school committee was a part. This committee made an extended report to the effect that two or three hundred illiterate children was nothing to be troubled about; it was a wonder there were so few; the tuition of children at dame schools was not a heavy burden on the parents, and if it should be found so in special cases, charity schools would provide relief. "It is not to be expected that free schools should be furnished with so many instructors and be considered on so liberal principles as to embrace the circle of a polite and finished education. They have reference to a limited degree of improvement."

* For origin of primary schools in Boston, see Wightman's Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee, Boston, 1860, pp. 14–35.

So, in the most graceful and polished language, and referring to the heavy tax already assessed for the support of public education, the honorable committee report that it is not expedient to establish primary schools at public expense, nor to increase the number of schools. At this time the public schools were instructing two thousand three hundred and sixty-five pupils, while at private schools were four thousand one hundred and thirty-two pupils, at an expense of nearly fifty thousand dollars, nineteen thousand dollars of which was for children under seven years of age.

Not deterred by this cool rebuff, the same men who had started the movement continued the agitation, secured a formidable petition, and in 1818, in spite of the eloquence of Harrison Gray Otis and Peter Thacher, carried the town in support of their measure, and twenty primary schools were opened in that year.

Following close upon this movement was the opening of the English High School for boys in 1821—the first in the country—a similar school for girls in 1825, which was short-lived, and a Mechanics' Institute in 1827.

During this period the monitorial system had been widely introduced into the larger towns. Pestalozzian principles and methods had their

earliest exemplifications in the monitorial school of William B. Fowle, and through the elementary books which he prepared these principles came into common use in the monitorial schools of other places.

The publication of Warren Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic, in 1823, was an efficient force in raising the standard of instruction. Previous to this all arithmetic work had been unintelligent ciphering. This book came into the schools as refreshing as a northwest wind, and as stimulating. It was eagerly seized upon by the more intelligent teachers. Its use was a mark of an intelligent teacher, a sign of life from the dead. Embodying the principles of the new education, it wrought a revolution in the teaching of arithmetic, and it determined the character of all subsequent text-books.

All these movements, though having in them the elements of progress, were comparatively local and limited in the sphere of their influence. A few public-spirited men and women—some teachers—had come out into the light; but the great body of common schools remained unaffected. The majority of Massachusetts citizens were torpid so far as school interests were concerned, or, if aroused at all, awakened only to a spasmodic and momentary excitement

over the building of a new chimney to the district schoolhouse, or the adding of a half dollar a month to the wages of the schoolmistress.

Nor was this lethargy of the people and this decay of primitive ardor more marked in New England than in other countries where the spirit of the Reformation had early set up school systems. Scotland, in 1819, awoke to the fact that the parish schools, in which a century before she had led the world, had fallen into decay—had so failed to maintain the standard of popular intelligence which had made the Scotch leaders of thought, that half the people in the Highlands could not read. In Holland, too, the primary schools of the Reformation had become what the Highland chief called "cemeteries of eddication"! The free-school system of Massachusetts, under her compulsory laws, had kept her from sinking to the level of the parochial systems of her Calvinistic sisters.

To James G. Carter, of Lancaster,* belongs the honor of first attracting attention to the decadence of the public schools, the extent of it, the cause of it, and the remedy for it. Within a year after he graduated from college he began

* Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. v, pp. 407–416.

an aggressive campaign in favor of free schools, which he continued for seventeen years, until his triumph was complete in the establishment of normal schools, and Horace Mann came to follow up his victory.

His first efforts were through the press. He described the condition of the public schools; he showed how they had sunk in the character of their instruction and instructors; with convincing logic he showed how the academies and private schools were largely responsible for this decline; in eloquent terms he painted the wisdom and self-denial of the founders of the State, and contrasted them with the degeneracy of their children; and with the ardor of his age, and a sagacity and insight beyond his years, he argued for inductive teaching in all the schools, and proved conclusively that there could be no such teaching until competent teachers could be provided. Then, rising to the height of his subject, he outlined a plan for a seminary for teachers,* of which Prof. Bryce said, in 1828, it was "the first regular publication on the subject of the professional education of teachers which he had heard of."

* This essay is given in full in Barnard's Normal Schools and Other Institutions, pp. 75–83.

These papers were widely circulated and favorably received. They were reviewed by Theophilus Parsons in the Literary Gazette, and by Prof. Ticknor in the North American Review, and bore almost immediate fruit in the legislation of 1824* and 1826.†

This legislation is of commanding importance in Massachusetts school history. It was the first attempt to remedy the evils of the district system—not by prevention, but by a check. Every town was required to choose annually a school committee, who should have the general charge and superintendence of all the town schools. They could determine the text-books to be used, and no teacher could be employed without being first examined and certified by them.

Here let us pause and review the history of school supervision in Massachusetts for the first two hundred years.

During the colonial and provincial period there was no statutory provision for the supervision of schools. The selection of teachers and the regulation of the schools were vested in the town as a corporation, and not in any particular officer of it. The choice of teachers was guarded

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* Laws of Massachusetts, February 18, 1824.

† Laws of Massachusetts, March 4, 1826.

by the requirement that their scholarship and character must be attested by the ministers. In practice there was no uniformity. Often the town in its meeting chose the master, fixed his salary, and regulated the terms of admission. More often committees were chosen to perform these functions, as well as to provide and repair schoolhouses and to lay out the districts. These committees were chosen for specified executive functions, and they had no term of service. Most frequently all these functions were performed by the selectmen, as the general executive officers of the town. But in no town was either of the three modes used uniformly or continuously.

The law of 1789 first required supervision, though it left all executive functions still unlodged. The ministers of the gospel and the selectmen, or a committee specially chosen for the purpose, were required to visit and inspect the schools once in every six months at least, to inquire into the regulation and discipline, and the proficiency of the scholars therein. The suggestion of a special committee was quickly acted on, and in the next twenty years a large number of towns chose such a committee, the ministers and selectmen often being *ex-officiis* members. There are in existence several sets of school-com-

mittee records beginning before 1800—one beginning in 1712.*

The visitation required by law was a formal and solemn affair. The ministers, the selectmen, and the committee, sometimes numbering more than twenty—the chief priests and elders of the town—went in stately procession at the appointed time to inspect the schools. They heard the classes read—Primer, Psalter, Testament, Bible, Preceptor—examined the writing and the ciphering books, listened to recitations in Latin, aired their own erudition—in the customary school-committee way—and took their departure, leaving on the records their testimony to the good behavior and proficiency of the scholars and the fidelity of the master. The quaint record of one such visitation to the school of old Nicholas Pike closes by saying, "The school may be said to flourish like the palm tree."

Meanwhile the support of the schools was falling more and more into the hands of the districts, and the executive functions came to be performed by the district committees, with the results which we have learned to deplore. The law of 1826, therefore, introduced no new idea

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* Salem, 1712; Newburyport, 1790; Boston, 1792; Hingham, 1794.

into the school history of the State; it made universal and compulsory what had already become familiar to many communities. But it did more than this: it elevated the school interests by differentiating them, specializing these functions, as the care of the roads, of the poor, of taxing, had long before been specialized.

The law of 1789 was a long step forward, by making it somebody's business to know what the schools were doing. This law was a longer step forward, by making the somebody a special body, and giving to it new and more extended powers. It is not strange that the law met with vigorous opposition. Petitions came to the next Legislature urging its repeal, but it was not repealed.

So arrogant had the little districts become, so jealous of their imagined rights, though they had had a corporate existence but thirty-seven years, that they complained of the new law as being arbitrary and oppressive, because it gave back to the town a part of the powers which had always belonged to it, but which the districts had usurped.

The law was not repealed, but a sop was thrown to the districts, which in practice went far to neutralize all the good effects of the law. This was the authority given to the prudential

committee to select the teacher.* The power had been long exercised; now it was legally conferred. The town committees neglected their restrictive duties, so that in many towns the new legislation was practically inoperative.

One other feature of the legislation of 1827 should be noticed in passing. For the first time in the history of the State is the entire support of the schools by taxation made compulsory. From 1647 such support had been voluntary.† For many years it had been universal.

From the beginning legislation had recognized the principle so aptly stated by Mr. Carter, that all the property of the town was liable for the education of all the children of the town. Now, after one hundred and eighty years, the principle is enacted into a law. So slowly are institutions evolved and perfected in a government by the people.

Mr. Carter's plans for school improvement included two means as of primary importance: a school fund, and a seminary for the training of teachers. The efforts of the friends of reform to secure these two ends were unremitting. The

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* Laws of 1827.

† In the Province Law of 1692 the maintenance and support of schools was included in the town charges, for which taxes might be levied.

measures were forced upon the attention and consideration of the Legislature every year from 1827, until opposition and reluctance yielded to importunity, and both were secured.

In 1834 * a bill was reported and enacted establishing a school fund. The fund was to consist of all money in the treasury derived from the sale of lands in the State of Maine, and from the claims of the State on the United States for military services, and half of all money thereafter to be received from the sale of Maine lands, the fund not to exceed a million dollars. Profiting by the example of Connecticut and New York, the distribution of the money among the towns was upon two conditions: the towns must raise by taxation at least one dollar for each person of school age—four to sixteen years—and must make to the State the statistical returns required by law. The fund was thus made a means not only of aiding the towns, but also of securing that information concerning the state of education which was necessary to intelligent legislation.

Three years later Mr. Carter's enthusiasm and energy achieved another signal triumph, and the Commonwealth took the second step in its educa-

* Laws of Massachusetts, March 31, 1834.

tional *renaissance.* In his address at the opening of the legislative session in 1837, Governor Edward Everett recommended the creation by law of a Board of Education, as an efficient means of furthering the educational interests of the State. This recommendation was indorsed by a convention of the friends of education in Bristol County, in a memorial to the Legislature. The Committee on Education, of which Josiah Quincy, Jr., was the Senate chairman, and Mr. Carter House chairman, reported a bill in accordance with the Governor's recommendation. This was defeated in the House by a vote of one hundred and thirteen to sixty-one.

Cast down but not destroyed, Mr. Carter's signal ability was equal to the occasion. By parliamentary skill he induced the House to go into a Committee of the Whole and discuss the measure. The committee reported favorably; the House adopted the report, and the bill passed to be engrossed.* A board of eight members was created, to be appointed by the Governor and Council, one member to retire annually; the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor to be members *ex officiis.*

This measure, which so narrowly escaped de-

* Laws of Massachusetts, April 20, 1837.

feat, was very mild and inoffensive. It was evident that the State intended to lay no violent hands upon the people's schools. The new board had some simple duties, but no power. It was to prepare an abstract of the school returns; it was to make an annual report to the Legislature of the condition and efficiency of the common-school system, and to suggest means of improving it—only this and nothing more could the board do. Its mission was to influence by enlightening, not to control by authority.

That this influence might be most widespread and potent, the board was authorized to appoint a secretary, who should, in the words of the act, "collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children in this Commonwealth who depend upon common schools for instruction may have the best education which those schools can be made to impart."

The board was to enlighten the Legislature; its secretary was to enlighten the people. Inasmuch as the Legislature came from the people, it

is evident that whatever efficiency there was to be in the new measure, would be the personal efficiency of the secretary; the outcome of the new departure, in direction and distance, would be determined by his wisdom, zeal, and popularity. The possibility of progress was coextensive with the power of the secretary to make himself solid with the people.

At the first meeting of the board, June 29, 1837, Horace Mann was chosen secretary. The choice was a surprise and a disappointment to many of those who had been most active in promoting the new movement. They wanted James G. Carter. It was his voice and pen which for seventeen years had been kindling public sentiment and guiding it toward this consummation. It was his portrayal of the decadence of the common schools, his keen-eyed discernment of the influence of the academies, his eloquent appeals to the sacrifices of the fathers, his sagacious and far-reaching plans for improvement, his skill in legislation, which had set the reformation on its feet. He had been the acknowledged leader out of the wilderness into sight of the promised land. It seemed hard that he should not go over and possess it.

If Mr. Mann's qualifications for the position were not peculiar nor pre-eminent, they were

neither few nor inferior. Supreme among them was his moral earnestness. In considering any question, his mind instinctively turned to its moral aspects; all subjects for him were shadowed by the eternities. In this he was a Puritan of the Puritans. The Puritan spirit was manifest also in his readiness to take the field in defense of principles, or in support of measures which he had espoused. He was born to be a champion. Fearless of consequences to himself, he had the stuff that martyrs are made of.

He was broadly humanitarian in his sympathies. He had already shown this in carrying through the Legislature, almost single-handed, the bill to establish the first asylum and hospital for the insane in Massachusetts. He was one of the firmest friends and strongest helpers of Dr. Samuel G. Howe in carrying on his work among the blind, and he was in the van in the fight with slavery and intemperance.

On the intellectual side, his legal training had developed certain natural characteristics; his mind was at once broad and keenly logical. As a result of this, no subjects presented themselves to him alone and unrelated; they readily referred themselves to categories and came under general principles. From the combination of these two qualities—moral and intellectual—it came about

that, whatever cause he espoused, he lifted the discussion at once to the most elevated plane, giving to it a breadth and a dignity which appealed to the thoughtful men and women of the time. This was the secret of his power and of his success. His imagination was active and strong, his idealizing power great; yet there was a practical element in his make-up which kept him from Quixotic undertakings—he never mistook sheep for soldiers, nor tilted against windmills.

His writings were characterized by a wealth of language, aptness and variety of illustration, and an elaboration of argument sometimes bordering close on prolixity and tediousness; but in controversy he could be keen, witty, vigorous, overwhelming. In public speech his arguments were convincing and his eloquence inspiring.

Besides these qualities of character, his previous public life was an added qualification for his new office. He had been for ten years in the Massachusetts Legislature, and during the last two of these he had been President of the Senate. This gave him a wide acquaintance among leading men in all parts of the State. He had been one of a commission to prepare the Revised Statutes of 1836. All this gave him a prestige which a mere schoolman could not have had. In

politics he was a Whig, in religious faith a Unitarian. These were elements both of strength and of weakness in his new position, as will appear later.

With such endowments, natural and acquired, Mr. Mann accepted the office of Secretary of the Board of Education, June 30, 1837, and on the evening of that day he wrote in his journal,* "Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I dedicate myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth," and for twelve years he held himself to the full level of that vow.

His friends and the public were surprised that he should consent to leave his profession, which might be lucrative, and to withdraw from political life, where preferment was certain, for an office whose salary was meager and whose title conveyed the idea of service, but not of honor. Concerning the title he wrote: "If the title is not sufficiently honorable now, then it is clearly left for me to elevate it. I had rather be creditor than debtor to the title."

The twofold work assigned by law to the Board of Education was to collect and to diffuse information. The board set itself, through its secretary, immediately to these tasks. The school

* Life of Horace Mann, by his Wife, p. 80.

law of 1826 had for the first time called for returns from the towns concerning school attendance and expenditures, these returns to be sent to the Secretary of State, and by him to be transmitted to the Legislature. But the returns had been incomplete, and little use had been made of them. By the new law these returns were to be received and abstracts made by the Secretary of the Board of Education. In Mr. Mann's hands they became powerful instruments in educating the public. Besides these regular returns, special circulars of inquiry were sent concerning the condition of schoolhouses, the length of the school period, the selection, compensation, and service of school committees, books, apparatus, and the quality of the teaching force.

These inquiries met with a very general response, and the answers gave to Mr. Mann a sufficiently accurate idea of the educational condition of the State. These means he supplemented by tours of observation and by extensive correspondence. Whatever Mr. Mann at the time of his appointment lacked of information, within a few months he knew more than any one else had ever known about the Massachusetts schools.

For diffusing this information and for arousing and directing public opinion, three means were used: first, conventions and other public

meetings; second, the annual reports which the law called for; and, third, the Common School Journal, a monthly periodical which Mr. Mann established and conducted for ten years. By these three means he aimed to reach and influence all the parties on whom the success of the schools depended—the public, the school committee, and the teachers.

In annual conventions held in each county, to which teachers, committees, and all friends of education were invited, and to which the towns were requested to send special delegates, Mr. Mann delivered an address in which he discussed in a broad and general way great educational topics, treating them with that wealth and felicity of illustration, that elaboration of argument and that lofty eloquence which characterized his treatment of all great themes.

His first lecture was entitled The Means and Objects of Common-School Education, and it struck the keynote of all his subsequent labors. While no man had a higher appreciation of the value and need of the higher education, nor exhibited in his own work more of its fruits, yet his accepted mission was to be the apostle of the common schools. In an age of invention, he declared, "The common school is the greatest invention of man," and he sought all the means in

his power, on the one hand, to increase its efficiency, and, on the other, to win back to it public confidence and pride.

To one familiar with the course of modern educational history, who knows by what short and easy methods the arbitrary governments of the Old World in the early part of this century reformed their systems of elementary education, this Massachusetts method by conventions is most significant. The sovereign people can not be driven; they can only be coaxed or persuaded. Give light enough and time enough, and things will come out right. This distinctive feature of our popular government has never been more clearly nor more eloquently exhibited than by Mr. Mann himself:*

"The education of the whole people, in a republican government, can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even if it were desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehension and enduring interests. We can not drive our people

* Lectures and Reports on Education, edition of Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1872, p. 286.

up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it.

"In some districts there will be but a single man or woman, in some towns scarcely half a dozen men or women, who have espoused this noble enterprise. But whether there be half a dozen or but one, they must be like the little leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal. Let the intelligent visit the ignorant day by day, as the oculist visits the blind man and detaches the scales from his eyes, until the living sense leaps to the living light.

"Let the zealous seek contact and communion with those who are frozen up in indifference, and thaw off the icebergs wherein they lie imbedded. Let the love of beautiful childhood, the love of country, the dictates of reason, the admonitions of conscience, the sense of religious responsibility be plied, in mingled tenderness and earnestness, until the obdurate and dark mass of avarice, ignorance, and prejudice shall be dissipated by their blended light and heat."

The response of the people to the efforts of the board in these conventions varied with the locality and circumstances, though the meetings

were on the whole fairly well attended, and considerable interest was manifested, but many of them sorely tried the soul of the ardent secretary.

While Mr. Mann in his annual convention lectures treated educational subjects in a more general and discursive way, in less formal meetings he treated of specific evils and pointed out the remedies. This he did, too, through the medium of his annual reports, which stand to-day unexcelled as educational documents, for the range of subjects—general and special, for the treatment—so broad, so philosophical, so wise, and so practical, that, as we read them in the light of a world full of new educational literature, we wonder how a lawyer came to know so much of the theory and practice of education.

In his reports the secretary dealt more directly with facts, and used the returns from the towns as a basis for argument and appeal. The fact which overtopped all others in significance, and which was a cause of justifiable alarm, was the nonattendance of children at schools of any kind. It appeared from the returns that more than forty-two thousand children did not attend school at all, or attended so little as not to be counted, while those who were counted attended on the average but seventeen weeks in the year. The money which should have been used to secure a

full measure of schooling to all the children had been diverted to the use of the few to the neglect of the many. The people were paying seven tenths as much money to educate one sixth of the children in private schools as they were raising by tax to educate the other five sixths in public schools.

With this fact and this peril before them, Mr. Mann appealed to the people as patriots, in a convention lecture,* on the necessity of education in a republican government. In his Fifth Report he appealed to them as practical business men, by showing the advantages of education over ignorance in promoting the industrial welfare of a community; and in his Eleventh Report he appealed to them as Christians, by showing the common schools to be the most effective instrument to deliver the people from vice and crime.

Not only were the common schools poorly supported and scantily attended, but the schoolhouses were a menace to the health of the children and a disgrace to the communities which owned them. In his first year of service Mr. Mann prepared a special report on schoolhouses, containing plans and detailed suggestions for

* Lectures and Reports, p. 143.

proper sites, size, arrangements, furniture, heating, lighting, and ventilating.

The third count in the indictment was the absence of any adequate supervision. The town committees, who were to have the general charge and superintendence of the schools, thereby averting the evils of the district system, in many of the towns had no pay for their services and rendered no service. In a town of forty districts the committee had not examined a teacher nor visited a school for eight successive years; and the people loved to have it so. Mr. Mann urged the people to use greater care in the selection of committees, and to pay them adequately; and he instructed the committees in their duties in visitation, in examination of teachers, and in selection of text-books.

While working thus with the people, he was working with no less assiduity and skill to improve the internal economy of the schools, both in matter and method, both in work and in spirit. His Second Report is a most interesting and instructive treatise upon the teaching of reading, including a sweeping and just arraignment of existing school readers, and suggestions for reading matter better adapted to be an instrument of instruction in the art of reading and a means of true literary culture. He urged the advantages

of teaching words before letters, of written rather than oral spelling. He advocated everywhere objective methods of instruction; the teaching of ideas before words; the use of illustrative apparatus and experiments. He dwelt at length upon school motives and government, and urged the use of moral measures in place of the indiscriminate and universal use and abuse of corporal punishment. He endeavored to broaden the conception of education, and brought more directly before the people than any one had done before the need of physical and moral as well as intellectual training.

After accepting the office of secretary, he had read and absorbed the treatise of the Edgeworths dealing with education on the practical side, and that of George Combe, which was theoretical. So he presented to the people and secured a hearing for all the characteristic features of what has come to be known as the New Education—its spirit and its methods.

The crowning work of this new era was the establishment of the normal schools. Toward this consummation many men and many influences contributed. The battle had been fought and nearly won before Mr. Mann became an educational leader. Other men labored, and he entered into their labors.

The idea of educating teachers for their work had been in the minds of the founders of the early schools for girls. William Woodbridge had aimed especially at this, and from Troy and Ipswich and Mount Holyoke there had gone out hundreds of young women into the little red schoolhouses among the hills and valleys of New England. But in all these there was no especial recognition of teaching as a profession, nor of such special preparation for it as was afforded by the theological schools to young men fitting for the ministry.

But all the leaders of educational reform in this and other States had included in their plans, as the foundation of all the others, a seminary for the special training of teachers. As early as 1827 Mr. Carter came within a single vote of securing an appropriation to aid in founding such an institution. Failing in this, he opened a private school for the purpose, and in 1830 a department was opened at the Phillips Academy at Andover, under the charge of Rev. Samuel R. Hall, who had done similar work in Concord, Vt.

Much of the impulse to this movement, and that which finally carried it to success, was received from Europe. The reports made by M. Cousin to the French Government, on the school systems of Prussia and Holland, had awakened

widespread interest in these systems, and led the friends of progress everywhere to seek in these European systems for remedies for local evils. They saw at once that whatever success these new systems had already achieved was due to the admirable methods for securing competent teachers.

Seizing upon this idea, and taking for his text the motto, "As is the teacher so is the school," Rev. Charles Brooks, of Hingham, in 1835 began a most vigorous campaign in favor of normal schools in Massachusetts.* In public meetings throughout the State, and before the Legislature, he preached his doctrine. Memorials were secured from county conventions and from the American Institute of Instruction.† The first report of the Board of Education asked for normal schools. Governor Everett indorsed the plan in his inaugural. Mr. Mann, in all the counties of the State, lectured on the topic, Special Preparation a Prerequisite for Teaching.‡

While all these men talked, one man acted. Edmund Dwight, of Boston, a member of the

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*Barnard's Normal Schools, p. 125; same in Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. i, p. 587.

† Ibid., p. 85.

‡ Ibid., p. 131; same in Mann's Lectures and Reports on Education, Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1872, p. 89.

Board of Education, offered to give ten thousand dollars if the Legislature would appropriate an equal sum for the instruction of teachers in normal schools.* Mr. Dwight had been a leader in promoting the great manufacturing and railroad enterprises of the day. Brought thus in contact with the laboring classes in different parts of the State, he had come to have a deep interest in the educational problem of the day—the renovation of the common schools. He had read Cousin's report, and, moved by these influences, he had been most influential in the establishment of the Board of Education, and at his own table made the first proposition that Mr. Mann should be secretary of the board.

The generous offer of Mr. Dwight was communicated to the Legislature by Mr. Mann, and on the 19th of April, 1838, resolves were passed accepting the proposition, and appropriating ten thousand dollars to be expended by the Board of Education in the training of teachers. With these sums at their disposal the board decided to establish three schools for three years. In locating these schools, the board required of the towns that they should furnish buildings and

* For memoir of Edmund Dwight, see Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. iv, pp. 1–22.

fixtures, and pay all expenses except the compensation of teachers.

Plymouth County, where great interest had been created by the labors of Mr. Brooks, made the first proposal and was first accepted; but before the competition between the towns could be adjusted a school was opened at Lexington, July 3, 1839—the first in America—and one at Barre, September 4th. The Plymouth County school was opened at Bridgewater, September 9, 1840. At the end of the tentative period of three years the schools were so firmly established that the State assumed the entire burden of their continued support.

It fell thus to the lot of Mr. Mann to be present at the birth and to watch over the infancy of these schools, and never did feeble nurslings have more sympathetic and more solicitous care. He selected the first principals, made out the first plan of organization and instruction, and they stand for all time inseparably associated with his name and work.

Besides the normal schools, the Board of Education set in operation another agency for the improvement of teachers, called Teachers' Institutes. The idea was borrowed from New York, where, under county superintendents, bodies of teachers had come together to study for several

days in succession, under competent instructors, methods of school instruction and discipline.

Mr. Mann had no funds at his disposal to inaugurate such a system. Again Mr. Dwight's generous friendliness came to his aid with an offer of one thousand dollars to enable him to try the experiment. An institute was proposed in Pittsfield. On the morning of the appointed day Mr. Mann and Governor Briggs repaired to the schoolhouse where the meeting was to be held. No preparation had been made. The Governor borrowed a couple of brooms from a neighbor, and he and the secretary swept the room and prepared it for the gathering.*

Notwithstanding this unpromising beginning, the meetings were so successful that the next Legislature made an appropriation for their maintenance, and no year since has such an appropriation been wanting. In the earlier years the money was used to pay the board of the assembled teachers, while the instructors gave their services. As the system became popular, the people of the towns welcomed the teachers to their homes. In the long list of institute in-

* Life of Horace Mann, by his Wife, Boston, Willard Small, 1888, p. 242.

structors, the names of Agassiz, Guyot, and Lowell Mason stand pre-eminent.

One other feature of the common-school revival is worthy of note. Early in 1837 the Legislature authorized the school districts to expend a small sum of money for a library.* At first few of the districts availed themselves of the privilege, but through the influence of the Board of Education a general interest was awakened.† Books adapted for the purpose were prepared and published with the approval of the board, and the district library became a most valuable adjunct of the district school.

At the close of the year 1848 Mr. Mann gave up his work as secretary, having accepted a seat in Congress as the successor of John Quincy Adams. It is fitting here to ask what progress had been made in the evolution of the Massachusetts public schools during these twelve years of Mr. Mann's labors.

Statistics tell us that the appropriations for public schools had doubled; that more than two million dollars had been spent in providing better schoolhouses; that the wages of men as teachers had increased sixty-two per cent, of

* Laws of Massachusetts, April 12, 1837.

† Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, pp. 18–20. Third Annual Report, pp. 11–17, 24–32.

women fifty-one per cent, while the whole number of women employed as teachers had increased fifty-four per cent; one month had been added to the average length of the schools; the ratio of private-school expenditures to those of the public schools had diminished from seventy-five per cent to thirty-six per cent; the compensation of school committees had been made compulsory, and their supervision was more general and more constant; three normal schools had been established, and had sent out several hundred teachers, who were making themselves felt in all parts of the State.

All these changes, great as they were in themselves, had their chief significance as indications of a new public spirit. The great work which had been accomplished had been to change the apathy and indifference of the people toward the common schools into appreciation and active interest. This, once secured, was a guarantee of future progress, and with it nothing would be impossible.

In achieving this result, Horace Mann's pre-eminence is indisputable. Much had been done before his time: some men had come out into the light; truth had been preached; converts had been made; far-seeing men had projected far-reaching schemes. But the great body of the

people of Massachusetts were as unmoved by all that his predecessors had done as the depths of the ocean are unmoved by the winds that agitate its surface.

Mr. Mann was not an original thinker along educational lines: he read, observed, absorbed, and then gave out. For fifteen hours a day for nearly twelve years, without a day for recreation, he gave himself to the work of convincing and moving the Massachusetts public. He sowed beside all waters.

It is for this reason that popular opinion has come to associate all modern educational reforms with the name of Horace Mann. He is thought to have been the father of normal schools, of high schools, of graded schools, of methods of teaching—the destroyer of the district schools and the academies. By some he is honored as the morning star of the reformation; by others he is esteemed an iconoclast and a vandal. He was neither: he was a voice crying in the wilderness; and men did hear, and did heed, and did respond. Not readily, nor universally. The story of his labors reads like a chapter in the Acts of the Apostles, so disheartening was the coldness, so varied and persistent the opposition.

Many of the conventions were small and spiritless. This was especially true in the autumn

of 1840, when political excitement ran high, and the people—even the best of them—went by the doors of his meetings in throngs, to attend log-cabin and hard-cider rallies in distant towns. Not that they had anything against Mr. Mann; on the contrary, had he been—as in earlier days—an active participant in these political movements, they would have flocked to hear him. It was this very indifference to the cause which he had espoused which wounded his sensitive spirit; so he writes in his journal, "A miserable, contemptible, deplorable convention";* again: "Politics is the idol which the people have gone after, and the true gods must go without worship. . . . If I were not proof against slights, neglect, and mortification, I should abandon the cause in despair." †

Nor was active opposition wanting. The most serious came from the Legislature; the most contemptible, from the religious press; the most humiliating to the friends of education, from the schoolmasters.

The State election of 1839 was signalized by a political overturn, by which the oft-defeated Democratic candidate for Governor, Marcus Morton, was elected by a majority of one vote, and

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* Life of Horace Mann, p. 135. † Ibid., p. 136.

the Whig ascendency in the Legislature was broken. Governor Morton, in his inaugural address, without directly attacking the Board of Education, by innuendo opened the way for his followers in the Legislature to a direct assault. He suggested that to those nurseries of pure democracy—the town and district meetings—should be left the control and care of the common schools. A committee on retrenchment, acting on this hint, went out of its way to recommend the abolition of the board, declaring that, instead of a State Board, there should be a Board of Education in every school district, and that that board should be composed of the fathers of the children.

The matter went to the Committee on Education, from which came a majority report recommending the repeal of all legislation establishing the Board of Education and the normal schools, and the refunding to Mr. Dwight of the money contributed by him. The board was assailed in this report rather for what it might do than for what it had done; for its centralizing tendency —a tendency to acquire controlling influence over the school interests of the State. It was charged with trying to Prussianize the schools, and to substitute for the democratic principles of the past the arbitrary methods of European

despotisms—with being an ingenious instrument for crushing out the liberties of the people. The district libraries approved by the board were a menace to the moral and religious interests of the State, because they contained no sectarian books. The normal schools were unnecessary and useless. The academies and high schools could furnish all the teachers that were needed, and they cost the State nothing; any one who had been well instructed could instruct others.

A minority of the committee, consisting of only two members, presented a counter report, which showed so clearly the illogical and absurd position of the majority, and defended so ably the Board of Education and its measures, that it secured the approval of the House. The opposition was defeated by the decisive vote of two hundred and fifty-two to one hundred and eighty-two.

The period occupied by the discussion was perhaps the most anxious time that the friends of educational progress in Massachusetts had ever experienced. And not in Massachusetts alone: in New York and Connecticut reactionary movements had already been successful, and defeat in Massachusetts would have been a national calamity.

Mr. Mann's pronounced Unitarianism made

him from the first an object of suspicion to many of the people calling themselves evangelical. The loss of Harvard College to orthodoxy, and the wholesale looting of the old churches which had accompanied the Unitarian schism, led the older denominations to fear that the Board of Education was merely an instrument, contrived under plausible pretexts, to bring the public school interests of the State under Unitarian control, as the college had been brought. They saw in the normal schools, under Mr. Mann's direction, a most insidious means of filling the schools with Unitarian teachers, and in the district libraries—with their claim to be nonsectarian—a device for poisoning at the fountain the minds of the people. So the denominational papers kept up a running fire of criticism, seconded all the hostile efforts in the Legislature, and opened their columns to the most malignant personal attacks.* While Mr. Mann hated orthodoxy as much as the orthodox distrusted him, yet the consciousness of the sincerity and singleness of purpose in his educational work sustained him through all this annoying experience.

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* See Christian Witness, 1844, February 23, March 29, May 17, July 26; 1845, February 28, April 4, May 16; Boston Recorder, 1847, January 14, February 26, May 6, May 27, June 17, November 17; 1848, February 18, July 28.

The story of this period of revival would not be complete without a notice of the attitude of the teachers themselves.

Mr. Mann's Seventh Report consisted of a description of European schools as he had seen them in a tour of inspection just completed. This report was made the pretext for an attack upon Mr. Mann by the masters of the Boston grammar schools, thirty-one in number, in a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-four pages.

In this document the masters accuse Mr. Mann of ignorance of education in general and of the Boston schools in particular; of bearing false witness against the schools of Massachusetts, in order to magnify his own work as a reformer; of hasty conclusions from scanty observation. They minimize the value and the work of the normal schools, and then, selecting three subjects—oral instruction, the teaching of reading, and corporal punishment—proceed at great length to antagonize the views of Mr. Mann. The whole document was a confession of weakness and fear, by men who felt the ground slipping from beneath their feet—men who were conscious that if the principles and methods advocated by Mr. Mann should obtain general acceptance, their own days were numbered; if the world should move in that direction, they must be stranded.

Mr. Mann replied to this pamphlet; the masters replied to his reply; and he returned again to the attack, while a guerrilla warfare of pamphlets was waged by partisans of the principal combatants.*

Two events of historic importance are associated with this controversy. Some thirty or forty men in Boston, anxious to give Mr. Mann a tangible proof of their confidence and appreciation, knowing how near his heart were the normal schools, offered to give five thousand dollars, if the State would give as much, to provide buildings for these schools, which had occupied only temporary quarters. Charles Sumner gave his personal bond for the amount. The Legislature accepted the offer, and the buildings at Bridgewater and Westfield were erected. When it was found that such buildings as were needed could not be built for the sum at the disposal of the board, Mr. Mann guaranteed the additional amount, and paid six or seven hundred dollars from his own private means. This was but a single instance of pecuniary sacrifice for the good of the cause.

The other event was the founding of the Mas-

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* For titles of the Mann Controversy pamphlets, see Barnard's Journal of Education, vol. v, p. 651.

sachusetts Teachers' Association, in the same year. This was designed to follow up and make general the opposition to Mr. Mann and his measures, begun by the Boston masters. The call for the meeting invited practical teachers, and it was intended by the phrase to exclude Mr. Mann.* The general tone of the first meeting was antagonistic. A resolution approving the Board of Education was tabled. The only supporter of Mr. Mann's views was Mr. Pierce, Principal of the West Newton Normal School. A man from Albany was glad to find the convention so sound and so opposed in spirit to the Board of Education, and he declared that the New York State Association had been founded to counteract similar heresies.†

This opposition from within the educational ranks can only be explained on the theory of Dr. Harris, that the profession of teaching tends to make men conservative. The necessities of instruction compel the teacher to reverence what is known, what is fixed, and to be suspicious of the untried. Occupied in restraining the eccentrici-

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* Life of Horace Mann, by his Wife, pp. 244, 245.

† At the next meeting a resolution was adopted disclaiming any intention to antagonize the Board of Education. Benjamin Greenleaf declared that the association meant "peace on earth and good will to Mann."

ties and vagaries of childhood, his first instinct is to oppose the new as visionary and fantastic.

Charitable as this philosophy is, this opposition of teachers—this wounding of the cause of education in the house of its friends—was most harassing and discouraging to Mr. Mann. Time which he might have spent in furthering the cause, or in needed rest and recreation, was used in repelling enemies or in quieting the apprehension of friends.

When we set ourselves to measure the work of Mr. Mann, all this must be taken into account. He fought the battle of educational reform in Massachusetts through to the end and conquered. Apathetic indifference, hide-bound conservatism, niggardly parsimony, sectarian bigotry, and political animosity surged around him as the enemies of France surged around the white plume of Henry of Navarre; but he left the field so clear, that since his day none of these reactionary forces, singly or combined, have made any successful opposition to the ongoing movements of the cause of popular education.

To the vigor, the skill, the self-sacrificing ardor, and the conscientious rectitude with which he conducted the offensive and defensive campaigns of his official life, is due the fact that Massachusetts has suffered none of those educa-

tional reverses which have befallen most of the other States. The school children of Massachusetts made no mistake when they placed in front of the Capitol of the State a statue of Horace Mann as of their benefactor and their ideal.

LECTURE V.

THE MODERN SCHOOL SYSTEM.

ALL evolutions are conditioned by two forces. Each organism takes on new forms under the pressure of changing environment, while heredity holds it true to its type through all its modifications. The Massachusetts school system affords a striking illustration of this broadest generalization of modern science.

There have been three historical epochs, each characterized by a special form of the school system: First, the town period, with the dame school, the reading and writing school, and the grammar school; then the period of decentralization, with the district school and the academy; and, lastly, the modern period, most strongly centralized, characterized by the graded schools.

As we followed the movement of population away from the original seats, spreading itself more and more into the wilderness as it followed the retreating wave of Indian depredation, occupying isolated choice bits of arable land, and

utilizing streams for the mill and the forge, so now we have to note a process exactly the reverse: the movement from the extreme of segregation to the extreme of aggregation—a movement which has brought back the people into populous centers, changed the farm to forest, left along the country roads a few old apple trees or a clump of lilacs, an ancient dam or a broken flume, to verify tradition that here was once a house and there a mill.

While the revival of education was in progress under Mr. Mann and his predecessors, other changes were going on—industrial and social changes; and these, rather than the theories of educationists, are responsible for the modern school system.

In 1820, when Mr. Carter began his agitation for reform, Massachusetts was an agricultural State. In 1850 it had become a manufacturing State. In 1820 its population was native-born and homogeneous. In 1850 there were two hundred thousand foreigners—one fifth of the whole population, and these so diffused as to be found in every town in the State but one.*

During those thirty years eighty-eight towns

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* A Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts from 1765–1840, by Jesse Chickering, Boston, Little & Brown, 1846.

gained one hundred and fifty-three per cent in population, while the other two hundred and thirteen towns gained only thirty-seven per cent. Of the total gain in population, these eighty-eight towns had made seventy-seven per cent.

In 1820 there were no cities and no railroads. In 1850 there were seven cities, and all the main railroad lines were in successful operation.

When Francis Cabot Lowell, in 1815, at Waltham, for the first time in history brought together all the processes of cotton manufacture, and so established the modern factory system, he set in operation forces whose outcome he could not have conceived, and we have only begun to recognize and measure.

Aggregations of population there had been before, but they had always been commercial in their origin and purpose, and limited in number by the possibilities of profitable exchange. The power loom, with its newly invented accessories, utilized by capital in the factory, made aggregations of people possible wherever streams gathered force over falls and rapids in their passage to the sea. Every factory village became a center of a new life. With the mills came stores, banks, new churches, new social organizations, more ready money, more willingness to spend it, a wider separation of social classes, more desire

for novelty and change. Life became faster; it made greater demands, developed new powers, offered new problems, and these not material only, but political, social, and religious—problems which to-day put Christianity to a severer test than it has encountered before in the nineteen hundred years of its history.

Invention stimulated invention, new processes multiplied, and new products. New supplies created new demands. Things once luxuries became necessities. The railroads, increasing, widened the circle of intercourse and exchange, and made every populous center in a measure cosmopolitan.

The factory system, moreover, first checked the tide of emigration which had for a generation been setting westward, and it developed immigration, first of the Irish, then of the French Canadians, then of all nationalities and races. Nor were these influences long confined to the cotton-manufacturing centers, but rapidly extended to other industries, until they had included the manufactures of wool, of paper, of rubber, of metals, and, last, of leather, and until, in one third of the cities and towns of the State, are aggregated nine tenths of the population of the State.

Turning now to the educational side, it is easy

to see that so radical a change in environment must have been followed by no less radical changes in the educational system, and to it we must look for explanation of the changes which we know have occurred.

The graded school, with its supplement, the free high school, the decay of the academies, the decline and fall of the district system, evening schools, scientific and technical schools, parochial schools, supervision by specialists, the improvement of school architecture, compulsory-attendance laws, truant laws and truant schools—all these are directly due to the change from rural to urban life, consequent upon modern mechanical inventions and their utilization under the factory system. It is an interesting fact that the incorporation of the manufacturing town of Lowell occurred in the same year with the restoration of the town school system. It will be our work in this lecture to study these recent changes —their order and their relation.

Foreshadowings of grading may be discovered early in the history. The exclusion of "A-B-C-darians" from the Roxbury Latin School in 1668 was a formal recognition of the principle of the division of labor in teaching, and in general children were not expected to attend the master's school until they could read; as the school-rules

of Newburyport said, "Read tolerably well, by spelling words of four syllables."

Before the Revolution it had been common for the towns to support the dame schools. The new law of 1789 expressly authorized such support, and in Newburyport and Boston, as we have seen, primary schools acquired a permanent place in the school system. But, generally, throughout the State the district schools contained children of all ages. With the growth of factory villages and railroad centers many of these mixed schools outgrew the possibility of successful discipline and instruction.

Mr. Mann, in his second report, urged the separation of the younger from the older pupils, and in subsequent reports noted with pleasure individual instances where his suggestions had been followed. But so slow was the process that twelve years later his successor, Mr. Sears, devoted almost the whole of his report to the subject of grading.

About 1850, as schools increased in size, here and there a further subdivision was made, and a third or intermediate school placed between the primary and the master's school. The masters' schools had by this time come to be called grammar schools, the term having an entirely different signification from that in the early history.

About this time Cambridge made five grades —alphabet, primary, middle, grammar, and high —a more minute subdivision than existed anywhere else.

The organization which is now universal in the larger schools was first made in Boston in 1847. Before that the Boston system had been unique.* The grammar schools were double-headed affairs, divided into a writing department and a reading department, each with a master and an assistant, the two masters having original and concurrent jurisdiction over the pupils. In the writing schools, arithmetic and penmanship were taught to all, while algebra, geometry, and bookkeeping were optional. In the reading schools, reading and spelling, with definitions, grammar, and geography, were required studies, with history, astronomy, and natural philosophy optional. The pupils spent the morning in one school and the afternoon in the other. This alternation was often "from grave to gay, from lively to severe."

In 1845 there was a written examination of the highest classes—the first official written ex-

* For an extended and interesting description of the schools of Boston in 1823, see the Prize Book of the Public Latin School in Boston, 1823, No. IV, pp. 9–12.

amination.* This revealed such wide differences and such defects in the instruction as to call for radical reform. The reform took shape in a new organization, with a single head and with separate classrooms, each under an assistant teacher. While the number of pupils under the old system was limited to the capacity of the single room which contained the whole school, under the new organization there was practically no limit, for buildings could be made with any required number of rooms. The system seemed to be so well adapted to the demands of the growing towns and cities that it was soon widely copied, and for the last thirty years has been general.

Ten years later Boston carried the system to completion by applying it to the primary schools;† and this plan, too, has been followed quite generally in the more populous communities.

The evolution of the graded school is so recent that all its stages can be observed in existing specimens: there are no missing links. We have in this State to-day the ungraded rural

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*See Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees of the Public Schools of Boston, 1845.

† Annual Report of the School Committee of Boston, 1863, pp. 8–21.

schools, containing pupils from four to seventeen years of age. We have the old division into primary and grammar schools in the rural villages. In the small manufacturing towns we have the threefold division—the primary, the intermediate, and the grammar schools; and in the cities and large towns the fully developed system, with separate classrooms for each grade. Several of these types may and do exist in different portions of the same town.

Of the graded school as an educational instrument I shall speak in another connection.

But this fact can not be too strongly emphasized, that the system as it exists is an effort to adapt the educational instrument to the environment—that it has taken shape under the pressure of the times. As evolutions, no more than revolutions, go backward, so whatever weakness the present system may possess, the remedy will not be found in looking backward, but in advancing along the lines already laid down.

The district-school ideal has in it nothing for the present or the future. We have outgrown that as we have outgrown the stagecoach and the warmingpan.

The period under consideration is characterized not only by the graded elementary school, but by the free high school. We have already

noticed the provisions for secondary instruction. Before the Revolution all towns of one hundred families must maintain the grammar school, with a master competent to fit boys for the university. After the Revolution the number of families was raised to two hundred, and the grammar master must be well instructed in Latin and Greek. We have seen this noble provision for higher education at public expense almost universally ignored under the blighting influence of the district system, and in its place a system of private schools and academies built up, favoring the rich and burdening the ambitious poor—affording their benefits to only one sixth of the children of the State.

Massachusetts people are a law-respecting people, and the ghost of this dead law seems to have haunted and troubled them, so that in 1824, when things were darkest, they changed the law so that, in place of the master well instructed in Latin and Greek, the towns might employ a teacher competent to instruct in the three R's, and in geography, grammar, and good behavior. So they laid the ghost of the dead law, and the very thing which the early legislators sought to guard against came very near happening: that learning should be buried in the graves of the fathers. What a fall was there! Only twenty-

two towns were left under the obligation to support a liberally educated schoolmaster. In the face of the example of such legislation the phrase "good behavior," must have had a very narrow interpretation.

In the midst of this darkness the example of Boston became again an inspiration and a guiding light. In 1821 Boston established the first free English high school in America.* The general reaction from classical study had limited the usefulness of the ancient Latin School, and no public institution existed where the sons of merchants and small tradesmen and mechanics could receive an advanced English education.

To meet the need, a new school was established for boys, under the instruction of George B. Emerson. It was called the English classical school. How it came to be called high school is not clear. It is not known that the name had then been applied to any school in the country. There is no record of any formal change of name, but in 1824, in the records of the school committee, the secretary, Rev. John Pierpont, calls it the English High School, and so it has continued to be called.

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* For a succinct account, by Hon. John D. Philbrick, of the origin and plan of this school, see Annual Report of School Committee of Boston, 1863, p. 153.

The next year, 1825, a high school for girls was established, and in the same year a monitorial high school in New York, and from that time the name has been common. But it is a singular fact that the term was not used in the Massachusetts Statutes to designate the town school until the Public Statutes of 1882.

Following the example of Boston, the friends of education outside secured from the Legislature, in 1826,* a law establishing the modern high school as a part of the public-school system. It provided that in towns having five hundred families there should be a master to instruct in United States history, bookkeeping by single entry, geometry, surveying, algebra; and in towns having four thousand inhabitants, a master competent to instruct in Latin and Greek, history, rhetoric, and logic. The schools were to be kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants, and for ten months in the year.

These schools were to furnish an education as broad as Harvard College had given a quarter of a century before. They became the people's colleges. The new law met with opposition from two sources: from the academies and the private schools, and from the scattered inhabitants of

* Laws of Massachusetts, March 4, 1826.

the agricultural towns. The two interests combined succeeded in procuring a repeal of so much of the law as bore upon towns of five hundred families, and they were left with the obligation to maintain only the district schools.

But a new spirit was moving in the community; the revival of education was in progress, and in the revision of the statutes in 1836 the law was re-established in its original form. Notwithstanding these facts, in 1840 the opposition succeeded in having the obligation again withdrawn, on condition that the towns raise twenty-five per cent more than ever before for their district schools, and this remained in force till 1848, when the law of 1836 was revived. How much it was needed, may be gathered from Mr. Mann's first report (1838), in which he tells us that, of forty-three towns under obligation to maintain the town school, fourteen were doing so; the other twenty-nine, among the wealthiest towns, containing more than one third of the whole population of the State outside of Boston, were paying less per scholar than the smaller and poorer towns, while they were supporting private schools for the few at a large expense.

So potent was the influence of Mr. Mann, and so contagious was the spirit of reform, that in fourteen years fifty high schools were estab-

lished. From 1860 to 1875 ninety more were established. Towns whose population was below the legal requirement voluntarily established high schools, until now, while the compulsory enactment affects but one hundred and sixty-four towns, two hundred and twenty-three are actually maintaining them. These two hundred and twenty-three towns contain more than nine tenths of the school children of the State. And the opportunities of the system are made universal by a recent law allowing children living in towns not having high schools to be educated in high schools in other towns at public expense, with the consent of the local school committee.*

Meantime the standard of these schools has been raised by broadening the course of study. Latin and general history have been brought down to the lower school, while the natural sciences, civics, and modern languages have been added.

The modern high school in its origin was another step in the process of specialization, and only completed the ideal graded-school system. In the district schools most of the more advanced English branches were occasionally studied by occasional students. In some schools a few of

* Acts of 1891, chap. 363.

the more intelligent boys and girls made a real advance in mathematics and science; in many more schools ambitious boys and girls with ambitious teachers—usually college undergraduates—pushed themselves into algebra and geometry and natural philosophy before they could read intelligently or perform creditably the simpler operations in arithmetic.

To differentiate the functions of the district school became as necessary on the upper as on the lower side, and the high school gave the same relief from congestion by taking out the adult pupils that the primary schools did by taking out the younger. The high school became thus the natural and fitting crown of the public-school system.

It was inevitable that the high school should, from the outset, come into competition with the ancient academy and the private school. As with all organisms deriving their sustenance from the same source and seeking to maintain themselves in the same environment, there began a struggle for existence. The academies gradually weakened; most of them dragged out a lingering existence for a longer or shorter time, and finally gave up the struggle. A few of the stronger ones, becoming sharply specialized as fitting schools and feeders of denominational col-

leges, remain, but their ancient occupation is gone. They no longer take the boys and girls fresh from rural homes and district schools, with awkward manners and homespun clothes, and give them glimpses of the broader world of men and books—a world else all unknown. Now, many of their students come from homes of wealth—most often new-made wealth. They come from parents who love not learning more, but exclusiveness.

In contrasting the high schools with the academies, if we accept the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, we must allow that that which has survived is the fittest—is best adapted to the modern environment. No other institution could have diffused so widely the light of modern science, could have scattered so widely the fruit of modern discoveries, could have supplied so widely that general intelligence which is the basis of modern intellectual life, could have created so wide and intelligent a demand for the products of modern literary effort, or developed an appetite so universal for the modern periodical.

Another consideration is of the greatest importance. The free high school introduced no new principle into Massachusetts history. Whatever *laissez faire* political economists may say as to the proper limits of the taxing power for

educational purposes, granting to it the right to provide only the rudiments, the doctrine derives no sanction from Massachusetts law or practice. The earliest law opened a path to the door of the university to all who chose to walk therein freely, and while at times the scope of the law has been narrowed, the principle has never been in abeyance for a day; and although men in high places have sought to undermine and discredit its operation, the popular instincts have been true to the convictions of the fathers. The Boston Latin School stands to-day a monument to the historic continuity of the principle embodied in the law of 1647.

Mr. Mann early discovered that the most serious obstacle in the way of all reform measures was the district system. Did he urge the necessity of improving the quality of the teachers —quoting the Prussian axiom, "As is the teacher, so is the school"—there stood the prudential committeeman with a group of family connections, his own or his supporters', for whom he must provide a livelihood in the school. Did he plead for better schoolhouses—there stood the "deestrick," intrenched behind statutory rights and immemorial usage, parsimonious, independent, defiant. Already the social and industrial changes had affected many of these districts un-

favorably. The exodus to the West in the early part of the century, and the later movements toward the centers of manufactures and trade, had drawn away from the rural districts the flower of the young men, naturally the most enterprising and progressive—men with their faces toward the rising sun; men who in their new homes were throwing themselves into the forward movements of the century.

The population left behind was of the more conservative sort: old men, whose families had all been educated, and who had therefore outlived the services of the schools but not the obligation to be taxed for them, and who had little respect for new-fangled notions, especially if they increased the taxes.

Many of these men were wealthy farmers, who had a considerable following of men more or less dependent on them for the means of support. In towns wholly agricultural, the new measures, therefore, met with little favor. In towns containing a village center, growing populous under the new order of things, a struggle began between the village and the outskirts, often protracted for years. The movement for the town high school was in most cases an occasion for an annual tug of war.

It early became evident that no substantial

and general progress could be made so long as the district system existed. Batteries were early erected against it, and the Board of Education, through its secretaries, kept up a continuous fire of argument, entreaty, fact, philosophy, statistics, testimony—and all this for more than forty years. It is one of the most memorable sieges in history. It illustrates in a remarkable way the methods by which reforms have to be brought about under a popular government. How provokingly tedious is the process! how chafing and galling to the spirit of ardent men—men who know they are right, but must wait to convert a generation!

It illustrates, too, how impossible it is, under our government, to secure reforms by law. Four attempts were made to overthrow the district system by force, and three of them failed. The fourth succeeded, because there was scarcely anything then left to overthrow.

In 1853 * the school committees were empowered to discontinue districts, unless the town voted triennially to continue them. This law was soon repealed.†

In 1859,‡ at the spring session of the Legisla-

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* Acts of 1853, chap. 153.

† Acts of 1857, chap. 254.

‡ Acts of 1859, chap. 252.

ture, the district system was summarily abolished. At a special session in the autumn the act of abolition was repealed.* Ten years later, in 1869,† the system was again abolished. The bill for this passed the Senate unanimously, and with only nine negative votes in the House. The next year, on petition of a few towns, the law was practically repealed by allowing any town by a two-thirds vote to re-establish the system.‡ In 1882* the system was again abolished, and to this time it has remained abolished.

The work to be done throughout this long conflict was to reinstate the town in its original authority. The first step was to strengthen the position of the town school committee; to induce the towns to withdraw from the prudential committee the selection of teachers. Incidental to this, the office of town committee must be made more honorable. So provision was made by law for paying the committee for their services; at first (1838) a dollar a day, then (1875) two dollars a day, then two dollars and a half. They were required (1838) to make an annual report; later (1859), to make this report in print; and, to

* By General Statutes, chap. 182.
† Acts of 1869, chaps. 110, 423.
‡ Acts of 1870, chap. 196.
* Acts of 1882, chap. 219.

strengthen them still more, there was given to them (1844) the absolute power of summary dismissal of teachers. This provision of our school law, much criticised of late, originated as a shield to protect the school from the baleful influence of the prudential-committee system.

The battle against the district system raged in every town. Against the traditional system the arguments were facts: the instability and incompetence of the teaching force—new and unskilled teachers succeeding each other with kaleidoscopic rapidity—and the inequality of school privileges growing more marked with every increase of population in the central districts.

On the other side was an intense feeling of jealousy of those central districts—an absurd conception of the school district as the palladium of popular liberty, to be defended to the last. The town system was an entering wedge to centralization and despotism, and backwoods orators in town meeting eloquently appealed to the memory of Patrick Henry and the heroes of Lexington and Bunker Hill. But public sentiment in Massachusetts usually comes round, give it time enough, and one by one the towns threw off the incubus and regained their original sovereignty, so that when, in 1882, the final act of abolition

passed the Legislature only forty-five towns were affected by it.

The popular awakening which gave character to the modern period has manifested itself nowhere so conspicuously as in the buildings which it has furnished for its schools. Good schoolhouses do not necessarily imply good schools, but they do imply public interest, and are the fullest exponent of it.

The condition of the schoolhouses when Mr. Mann began his labors is best described in his own words:* "Respecting the three thousand schoolhouses, I am convinced that there is no other class of buildings within our limits, erected either for the permanent or temporary residence of our native population, so inconvenient, so uncomfortable, so dangerous to health by their construction within, or so unsightly and repulsive in their appearance without. . . . Deserted by all public care, and abandoned to cheerlessness and dilapidation." The estimated entire value of the whole was but little more than half a million dollars—an average value of only two hundred dollars.

Following the publication of Mr. Mann's re-

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* Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, p. 39.

port on schoolhouses, in 1838, improvement began immediately; within two years more new houses had been built than in the ten years before. In five years $650,000 had been spent in erecting new houses and repairing old ones. In 1855 the value of school property had risen to $5,000,000, and the average value of schoolhouses had increased more than sixfold. In 1870 the value had risen to $13,500,000, and in 1891 to $28,461,645. The sum expended in 1891 for new buildings and repairs was $2,646,865. There are to-day single schoolhouses which have cost more than the value of the whole three thousand buildings in 1837. All the changes in organization, which we have described, have combined to produce this marvelous material expansion. The massing of scholars in graded schools called for new and larger structures, and the necessities of dense population demanded that these should be substantial, safe, and durable.

As the free high school became more firmly established in the public system, it naturally claimed a home somewhat in keeping with its pre-eminence; so, year by year, in cities and country towns, there have been erected high-school houses, many of them "beautiful for situation," some of them palatial—triumphs of the builder's art, ministering to a worthy local pride,

testifying to the people's estimate of education, and by this testimony profoundly influencing the generation which is trained in them.

This influence has by no means been confined to the cities. The abolition of the district system was everywhere followed by a rehabilitation of the school property. The "little red schoolhouses," which tradition has glorified, had been generally worthless. Chatham sold four, at an average of $41.34. In another town four were sold at $100. Many sold for from $5 to $10. In one town, for a series of years, all the money annually appropriated for repairs on its eight schoolhouses was $5—an average of 62½ cents each.

No sooner had the towns taken the schoolhouses, than the same people who in the district meetings had resolutely opposed any improvement came forward and demanded new houses in their district. Each new one made others necessary, until in scores of towns all the schools found themselves in new and comfortable quarters. Within recent years school sanitation, following European lead, has developed into a science, and modern buildings are gradually becoming as safe for the bodies of the pupils as they are well adapted to the training of the intellect.

The modern period is further characterized by its compulsory legislation to promote school attendance. The idea of compulsion was not new in Massachusetts educational history. The earliest legislation, as we have seen, placed the parent under legal obligation to bring up his children to learning and labor, and it placed the local officers also under obligation to enforce the law. Later, it laid its hand on the towns themselves, and bound them, under heavy penalties, to provide schools, as means by which the parent could obey the law.

So for two hundred years the idea of compulsion had wrought itself into the tissue and fiber of Massachusetts thought, strengthened and defended all along by the action of the judicial authorities, holding the towns and parents and committees up to their duty. Slowly, however, in later days, public sentiment had been weakening. The scanty schooling which the poorer districts furnished was more than many of the people cared for. Hence much neglect had come about. Even with the better class, school attendance had been subordinate to domestic convenience or the supposed necessities of the farm and the shop.

The concentration of population in the manufacturing and railroad centers aggravated the

evil. There was less home work for children, less opportunity for parental oversight, stronger street temptations. So absenteeism and truancy increased. Under the graded system, absence and tardiness were more serious evils than under the more free and easy regimen of the district school. This the parents were slow to comprehend; indeed, in the country districts they do not yet comprehend it.

Superadded to these influences came foreign immigration. Thousands of children were brought into the States from England, Ireland, and Scotland, where elementary education was at its lowest ebb—children who had never seen the inside of a schoolroom.

Such was the state of affairs when the Board of Education was established. By the earliest returns it was estimated that, short as the summer schools were, only one half the children of school age were in attendance, and in the winter schools only three fifths.* One of the first acts of the board was to secure the use of registers of attendance, that the actual attendance might be known. The facts corroborated the earlier estimates.

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* First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, p. 37.

With all his admiration for the new European systems, Mr. Mann had been unwilling to adopt their compulsory features. He deemed them un-American, and preferred to think that, by the slow process of enlightenment and steady influence, public sentiment might be brought up to the ideal standard. After ten years of effort, however, he was compelled to acknowledge that the progress was too slow; that it would require half a century to get the children into school.

Before the close of his service he came to advise compulsion. A few years later the Board of Education urged the Legislature to come to its aid, and in 1852* the first compulsory school attendance law in the Union was enacted. It required the parent to send his children between eight and fourteen to school at least twelve weeks in each year, unless he was too poor, or unless the child was otherwise provided with the means of education for a like period. The school committee were to inform the town of violations, and the town treasurer was to prosecute. The exemptions and the provisions for enforcement practically nullified the law.

But it was something to have the principle recognized. At intervals the law has been broad-

* May 18, 1852.

ened and strengthened.* The twelve weeks were changed to twenty weeks, and recently to thirty weeks. The poverty of the parents is no longer a valid excuse for keeping the children from school; and if the parent chooses a private school, it must be one approved by the school committee, and they can only approve it when the instruction is as broad and as thorough as in the public schools, and is in the English language. Special officers, too, have been appointed, to see that the law is enforced.

It is important to notice the relation of the modern statutes to the earliest ones. We discover that the new laws do no violence to the traditional spirit or policy of our people. The parents have always been under compulsion to educate their children up to the limit set by the State. They have always been free to choose such means to this end as they prefer. When, in the early days of Winchendon, all the men in town who could read by turn taught the children, it was in obedience to the earliest law and in the exercise of individual freedom. Home instruction and private schools have always been legal, and are no less so to-day. The new laws are not

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* Acts of 1873, chap. 279; 1874, chap. 233; 1876, chap. 52; 1878, chap. 171; 1889, chap. 464.

importations from European despotisms, but the rehabilitation of an ancient statute. Like the old ones, they have been made by the people themselves, and changed only to meet the exigencies of a new environment. The selectmen and ministers can no longer keep a vigilant eye over their neighbors, to see that the children are being educated. The school census and the school register are to do this work. Nonattendance at the public school is now made *prima facie* evidence of parental neglect. If the parent can show that he is doing his duty by his child in some other way equally good, the law has no penalty for him.

The introduction of the factory system was a new source of danger to the educational interests of the State. With the beginning of the new manufacturing era in Great Britain, in the last quarter of the last century, child labor assumed new importance, and as factories multiplied they became insatiable Molochs, where children of the tenderest ages were sacrificed to the greed of mill owners and the necessities of parents. The manufacturing towns of Great Britain became characterized by squalor and wretchedness, ignorance, and brutality.

Early in this century public attention in England was called to the evils of child labor. Par-

liamentary commissions were appointed to investigate, first, child labor in factories,* then in mines,† and then in agricultural communities (1867, 1868). The revelations made by these commissions were startling and sickening. Man's inhumanity to man has rarely been painted in stronger colors. Mrs. Browning's Cry of the Children voiced the universal sympathy:

"Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And that can not stop their tears."

Some humane legislation followed these disclosures, fixing a minimum age at which children might be employed, and limiting the hours of labor.

The men who introduced the factory system into Massachusetts—Lowell, Appleton, and their associates—took special care to guard against the British factory conditions by which the operatives were degraded and brutalized. To their wise and Christian foresight we owe it that Lowell and Lawrence did not become copies of Manchester and Paisley and Glasgow. Still

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* See Reports of Factories Inquiries Commission, London, 1833, 1834.

† Children's Employment Commission, First Report, Mines, London, 1842.

the temptations to utilize child labor were great, and increased with the foreign immigration. The foreign parents were ignorant, and many of them valued lightly the education of their children, preferring the present help of their earnings to the future and less substantial results of school attendance.

To regulate the employment of children thus became early a matter of legislative concern. The first law was enacted as early as 1836.* This forbade the employment of children under fifteen years of age, unless the child had attended school three months in the year preceding his employment. Much subsequent legislation † has tended to reduce the amount of child labor in the State, and to promote and extend the school advantages. Now, no child under thirteen can be employed at all; none under fourteen, unless he has attended school thirty weeks in the year. The penalties are heavy and the means of enforcement adequate.

While the State has thus sought to protect the children from the indifference and cupidity of parents and employers, it has been no less

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* Acts of 1836, chap. 245.

† Acts of 1838, chap. 107; 1842, chap. 60; 1849, chap. 220; 1858, chap. 83; 1867, chap. 285; 1876, chap. 52; 1878, chap. 257; 1888, chap. 348.

vigilant to protect the child against himself—to save him from his vices and his bad associates; to take him from the street and put him at school. With the increase of the foreign population and the growth of manufactures, truancy became alarmingly prevalent. The school committee at Rockport, at one time, estimated that one third of the children were habitual truants.

In 1850 * the first law to prevent truancy was passed. It authorized the towns to make by-laws to remedy the evil. This was the grass-throwing stage. In 1862 † it changed "may" to "shall," and thus began to throw stones. Later ‡ the towns were required to appoint truant officers, and since that whatever efficiency the law has had has been measured by the efficiency of these officers. By faithful watching, by kindly persuasion, by unremitting pursuit, they have succeeded in reducing truancy to a minimum. They have been aided in this work by the establishment of county truant schools, where, under judicious care, the boys, many of whom have suffered from parental neglect and evil associates, are won back to right living.

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* Acts of 1850, chap. 294; 1852, chap. 253; 1853, chap. 343.

† Acts of 1862, chaps. 21 and 207; 1865, chap. 208.

‡ Acts of 1873, chap. 262; 1874, chap. 233; 1878, chap. 217; 1881, chap. 144.

While the influx of foreigners was taxing the wisdom of legislators and school authorities to provide educational facilities for the children, it was also flooding the State with illiterate adults. The condition and needs of these people were first observed by persons engaged in charitable and missionary work in the cities. They saw the danger to society from this source, and were the first to apply a remedy. In connection with the philanthropic Christian work of the Warren Street Chapel in Boston, what is commonly supposed to have been the first evening school in this country, was opened in 1836 with two pupils.* More than sixty years before (1773), evening schools were carried on in Salem to teach a limited number of poor boys the mariner's art, and others to write and cipher.

The number of pupils at the Warren Street Chapel increased, and other schools were established, conducted by charitable workers, and aided by insignificant sums from the city treasury.

Similar schools were opened in the manufacturing cities; all the earlier ones conducted and supported as private charities.† In 1847‡

* Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, pp. 76, 77.

† Ibid., pp. 77–87.

‡ Acts of 1847, chap. 137.

the Legislature authorized the towns to support schools for adults, and appropriations began to be made from public funds. Ten years later,* legislation, while still leaving their support optional, defined their place as integral parts of the public-school system, opening them to all persons over fifteen years of age, and putting them under the control of the school committee. In 1883 † their support became compulsory in towns having ten thousand inhabitants. Thus they passed through the three stages so common in our educational history: first voluntary, then authorized, then required.

In the earlier years the success of the schools was hindered by irregular attendance—the schools opening full, but gradually thinning in numbers, until they were closed for want of pupils, few of the persons who patronized them having more than temporary and spasmodic interest in learning. Many of the pupils, too, were rough and disorderly; and the teachers, charitably disposed men and women, but lacking the power to control, often failed to reduce the turbulent elements to the quiet necessary for school purposes. Gradually these evils have been to a great degree overcome. The unruly class has

* Acts of 1857, chap. 189. † Acts of 1883, chap. 174.

been weeded out. Regular teachers have been employed. Systematic classification has taken the place of the early promiscuous work, and courses of study have been developed specially adapted to the needs of the school.

The work, too, has taken on a broader character with the establishment of evening high schools,* where young men and women, forced into the ranks of breadwinners from the elementary schools, may pursue the same branches of learning and acquire the same culture as their more fortunate brothers and sisters are doing in the ordinary public high schools. There are now in the State two hundred and fifty-five evening schools, attended by twenty-nine thousand two hundred and twenty-one pupils, in fifty-five towns and cities.

Out of the necessities of this broadened and more complex educational system there has been evolved, within the period we are reviewing, a new educational function—that of professional supervision; and a new organ for the function—the Superintendent of Public Schools. The idea was first put in practice in New England, in Providence—suggested, it is said, to its originator there by the factory system of the

* Acts of 1886, chap. 236.

State. However that may be, the modern organization of industries has furnished analogy and argument more potent than any others in securing attention to the system and promoting its adoption. The fact is conspicuous, that the success of all great business enterprises is conditioned not so much on the quality of the individual employees, nor on the general intelligence and financial standing of the boards of control, as on the capacity of the overseers, the superintendents, and the general managers.

The modern principle of the division of labor has developed experts and specialists in all lines, not only material—in production and distribution of commodities—but in scientific research and in professional labor. It would have been strange if a principle so generally accepted and applied had not entered the realm of education. It has entered and pervaded it, on the whole, with signal benefits and with some drawbacks.

A college president is no longer a teacher, but an administrator of college funds, which he has been successful in increasing. If he makes occasional excursions into the realm of educational theory, it is apt to be along statistical lines. Averages abound, and more or less distinctly visible as a motive is seen the enlargement of the

college catalogue, the splendor of college numbers. Similar tendencies have developed themselves in public-school management. The system has sometimes been made a fetich, and it has been worked on factory principles, with children as raw material to be worked up according to uniform patterns, by uniform processes, to a uniform standard. But this is only a passing phase, which the schools are already outgrowing.

The business analogy has helped to carry forward the superintendency in Massachusetts. Beginning in Springfield, in 1840, as an experiment, it had no permanent place in the State until Boston adopted the plan in 1851. Soon a State law authorized it,* and it has slowly but steadily worked its way into universal favor in the cities and largest towns. It has encountered less opposition from business men and in manufacturing communities than among farmers, who are less conversant with modern industrial methods.

Quite recently the State has aided the small towns to employ superintendents in union districts,† and the "jingling of the guinea" from

* For legislation concerning superintendents of schools, see Acts of 1854, chap. 314; 1856, chap. 232; 1860, chap. 101; 1870, chaps. 117 and 183; 1873, chap. 108; 1874, chap. 272

† Ibid., 1888, chap. 431; 1890, chap. 379.

the State treasury has helped to overcome the fear of centralization among the rural voters.

The most serious difficulty in extending and perfecting the system has been in the lack of suitable men. The duties of the office have been arduous, the relations delicate, the tenure precarious, and the pay out of proportion to the capacity and service demanded; and the best men have often been restrained by school boards from fulfilling all the appropriate functions of the office. In spite of these hindrances, it is true that the progress made in public-school education within recent years has been chiefly due to the broad conceptions, the wise plans, and the skillful administration of these officers.

After all the steps which the Commonwealth had taken toward making education free, there was one burden still resting on the parents if they were honest: they must supply their children with the books, etc., needed for school use. An early statute had obliged the towns to furnish these necessaries free to the children of the poor.* This system made an invidious distinction between the well-to-do and the indigent. It shackled honest poverty and shameless indifference together and marked them with the same

* Acts of 1826, chap. 143.

badge. Public attention was called to the injustice and inconsistencies of the policy. The example of other communities was cited, where free text-books had long been furnished.

Following her usual custom, in 1873* the State authorized the towns to own the books and loan them to the pupils. Several cities and towns at once availed themselves of the opportunity, and with such favorable results, answering conclusively all objections, that in 1884† compulsion took the place of permission, and all books and supplies became free in all grades of school.

In earlier days the pupils had been required to furnish the fuel for the winter school, and only after lively passages at arms in town meetings and acrimonious debates was the burden shifted from the parent to the public. Logical consistency demanded free text-books as much as free fuel and free teachers for a free-school system.

The new arrangement proved its value in a rapid increase in school attendance, especially in the high schools, where the book burden had been heavy. So popular has the system become that for political purposes men have contended for

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* Acts of 1873, chap. 106.

† Acts of 1884, chap. 103; 1885, chap. 161.

the honor of its paternity, as the cities of Greece contended for the honor of having cradled Homer.

The kindly impulses prompting to the humanitarian movements in the early part of this century, included in the gracious thought the defective classes. The earliest institutions for the deaf-mutes, for the blind, and for the feeble-minded were from the first liberally subsidized by the State, for the education of its own indigent unfortunates. In recent years its policy has widened, until now it provides free instruction without distinction to all its defective children. And that there may be no joints in its harness through which the arrow of criticism may pierce—that its educational practices may conform to its most advanced educational theories—it has made ample provision to win back to lives of rectitude and usefulness (by judicious restraint and the regenerating influences of learning and labor) boys and girls who have taken the first steps in crime. To this beneficent end it established, in 1847, the Lyman School for Boys, at Westborough, and in 1856 the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster.

While the State has been in these later years constantly broadening the scope and increasing the means for elementary education, it has maintained its primitive interest in the higher edu-

cation, and its open-handed policy toward the higher institutions. Harvard, for which it made its earliest appropriations, has never ceased to be an object of affection and pride, and the younger institutions — Williams, Amherst, and Tufts — have received substantial tokens of the good-will of the Commonwealth.

Only recently has the close bond which connected Harvard with the State been sundered. For one hundred and fifty years the college had the same relation to the State which the ancient grammar school held to the town. The General Court chose the president and professors directly or through the Governor and Council, as the town chose the schoolmasters. Until after the Revolution the salaries of the faculty were annually voted by the General Court. Until 1865 the chief officers of the Commonwealth were members of the governing board of the university. Since that year there has been no official connection; the president and faculty no longer look to the Governor and Council for their election or their support.

But there remains upon the statute book a solemn obligation, placed there more than a century ago—a statute which gives to the president a sublime pre-eminence among the educational forces of the State—that famous law of 1789,

which we have before noticed, imposing the obligation of moral instruction. This law, mandatory alike on high and low, reaching down to the obscurest teacher of the lowliest children in the humblest school, yet imposes upon the President of Harvard the supreme responsibility for the moral education of the youth of the State. Binding into one brotherhood, for the preservation of the institutions and liberties of the Commonwealth, all instructors of youth of every title and degree, it looks up to the President of Harvard as the leader of them all.

The scientific spirit of the century and the industrial development of the modern era have made necessary appropriate educational instruments, and such the State has added to its educational forces. The Institute of Technology, the Worcester Industrial Institute, and the Agricultural College have received generous largesses from the public treasury, and all have been connected with the public-school system by means of free scholarships to able and needy students selected by the Board of Education.

While these institutions have carried forward the education of young men into ever-widening fields of literary and scientific culture, the education of girls—so long delayed, so auspiciously begun at last—has moved forward to triumphant

success. Women who, as girls, sat on the door-step of the village school and through the open door heard the boys recite—the nearest approach to higher education which the public system afforded or general public opinion favored—lived to see, at Wellesley and Smith, girls who had been fitted side by side with boys in public high schools, pushing their way into the remotest realms of knowledge. Opposed by learned argument, and laughed at as the ambitious girls in the earliest days had been, yet by their success in achieving the highest scholarship, while preserving intact all their womanliness, they have proved the logic of their detractors to be illogical and have made ridicule itself ridiculous.

So as never before, in these colleges of men and women, we see fulfilled the hope and prophecy of the lamented poet:

> "And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time,
> Sit side by side, full summed in all their powers,
> Dispensing harvest, sowing the To-be,
> Self-reverent each and reverencing each,
> Distinct in individuality,
> But like each other, even as those who love."

The dawn of the modern public-school era was clouded by a discussion which threatened to subvert the system itself. The theological discussions which had raged in the early part of the century, with the breaking up of the old churches,

had left everywhere roots of bitterness. Suspicions and jealousy were rife, and so inflammable was the atmosphere that a spark was followed by instantaneous explosion. The air was lurid with invectives and heavy with anathemas. The attempt of the Board of Education to revive the public-school interests awakened at once the suspicions and aroused the hostility of large numbers of the influential classes.

These people, representing various religious bodies called evangelical, saw in the new movements an attempt to exclude religion from the schools—to secularize them. The academies had been nurseries of religion and powerful adjuncts of the established faith. The public schools themselves had been largely watched over by the ministers, and in earlier days had given to religious exercises a prominent place. The legislation which inaugurated the new era giving to the town committee the care of the school, gave to them the selection of books for school use, but forbade the use of sectarian books. This was taken as a declaration of intention to banish religion from the schools, and on this issue the people divided.

On the one side were those who believed that religion was the only proper foundation of the education of the young, and that schools from

which religious exercises were excluded were subversive of the foundations of character and of the social and public weal. On the other side were those who believed that among a people of different faiths no system of religious instruction could be devised which should not be offensive to some; that education by the State was for the State, and not for the Church; and that it was possible to provide a common education for all, which, while it cultivated the mind and promoted general intelligence, should also conduce to private and public virtue, leaving to the home and the Church such special instruction in religious doctrines as parents might desire for their children.

In the heat of discussion some of the leading religious papers declared that, rather than omit religious instruction from the schools, they would give up the public schools and let each denomination provide for the training of the children of its own faith.

While this discussion was going on a new danger appeared, in the presence of which the opposing parties ceased their wordy conflict, and, combining their forces against the common enemy, solidified public opinion in support of the nonsectarian public school.

The tide of foreign immigration which set in

with increasing force after the unsuccessful revolutionary movement in Europe in 1848 produced everywhere in the United States a feeling of anxiety and alarm. The political ascendency gained by foreign-born citizens in New York city intensified the feeling, and the attacks of the Catholic Church authorities upon the public-school system added fuel to the fire.

An intense anti-foreign and anti-Catholic spirit manifested itself. Organizing itself in secret societies, it spread over the country; mingling patriotism with fanaticism, it revealed itself in many places in violence and outrage. It entered politics, and, breaking down the old party barriers, swept its adherents into power in a large number of States.

The attack of the Church upon the public schools had been in two directions: it had demanded the exclusion of the Bible as a sectarian book, and it had claimed a share of the public-school money for the support of Church schools. A protracted struggle in New York city had resulted in maintaining the public-school money intact, but the Bible had been expelled from the public schools.

In 1853, in several States, a demand was made for a division of the school money. It was nowhere granted. In Massachusetts an amendment

to the Constitution,* approved by the Legislatures of 1854 and 1855, was immediately ratified by the people. It declared that money raised by local tax or appropriated by the State for schools should only be expended upon public schools; and that such money should never be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance of its own schools.

The Bible question was settled with equal significance and conclusiveness.† Instead of excluding the Bible, its reading, which had been only voluntary, was made compulsory—daily reading of the Bible in the English version in all schools. Subsequent statutes‡ modified the law by exempting children whose parents might have scruples from taking part in the exercise.

At the time of these discussions Church schools in Massachusetts were few and small. The first of which we have any knowledge were in Lowell, in 1834. They increased but slowly until the Baltimore Council in 1884, which declared it to be the policy of the Catholic Church to educate its own children in its own parish schools. Since that time there has been a rapid gain.

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* Constitution of Massachusetts, Amendments, Art. XVIII.

† Acts of 1855, chap. 410.

‡ Acts of 1862, chap. 57; 1880, chap. 176.

In the decade from 1860 to 1870 the increase in attendance on these schools was about six hundred; from 1870 to 1880, eight thousand; from 1880 to 1890, twenty-eight thousand. The number now in attendance upon the parochial schools is 10·6 per cent of the whole school attendance.

While the isolation of even this portion of the school population is to be regretted for their own sakes—separated thus from those early associations in work and play by which the individuals of each generation become affiliated with one another in youth, prevented thus from growing into the possession of those common thoughts and purposes which mark interests common and imply one people, born and reared and molded into a sect rather than into a nation—while this is a misfortune for those who are subjected to it, we have profound reason for congratulation and thankfulness that this divisive spirit has gained so slight a hold upon the people of our State. It is most significant that, notwithstanding the conditions of society have been most favorable to private-school interests, during the last twenty years there has been scarcely any perceptible gain in the ratio of private-school attendance outside the parochial schools—only about one fifth of one per cent. This is a most conclu-

sive answer to the statement that the public schools are declining in popular favor—a statement usually made by men whose wish is father to the thought.

The power of the public-school system to mold public opinion in its own favor, to make friends for itself, is strikingly exhibited in the changes which have taken place since 1850:

The population has gained one hundred and twenty-five per cent. and the school population has gained ninety-one per cent.

The public-school attendance has gained ninety-six per cent.

The property of the State has gained two hundred and sixty per cent.

The school appropriation has gained five hundred and fifty-one per cent.

And all this while the number of foreign-born persons has gained three hundred per cent, and is 29·35 per cent of the whole population, while the population born of foreign-born parents is fifty-six per cent.

Year by year these people of Massachusetts—more and more of them of foreign parentage—in their town meetings and their city councils deliberately tax themselves far beyond the legal requirements. That this is true is the strongest testimony to the educating, unifying, American-

izing influence of the public school, and the most magnificent tribute to it.

To-day, while the compulsory law requires towns to raise three dollars for each child of school age, they voluntarily raise an average of twenty-four dollars and sixty-seven cents. While they must keep their schools open six months, they do voluntarily keep them open eight and a half months.

If the millions of dollars of to-day represent less of value than the four hundred pounds which the early colonists set apart for Harvard College, the spirit which prompts the gift is still the same, and we realize that we have not departed so far from our Puritan antecedents as we may have feared; so we thank God and take courage.

LECTURE VI.

THE MODERN SCHOOL.

In that wonderful essay, Levana and our Ladies of Sorrow, you will recall the passage in which De Quincey hints at two ideas of education: one, "the poor machinery of spelling books and grammars"; the other, "that mighty system of central forces hidden in the deep bosom of human life, which, by passion, by strife, by temptation, by the energies of resistance, works forever upon children, resting not night or day any more than the mighty wheels of day and night themselves; whose moments, like spokes, are glimmering forever as they revolve."

Something like this distinction is suggested by the contrast between the modern school and the schools which we have been considering. Not every existing school is a modern school. Antediluvian ideals remain under postdiluvian conditions, and the mediæval spirit defies the Renaissance. The modern school is still in process of evolution. As in all such processes, the

individuals progress unevenly: some slowly, some rapidly; some along one line, some another; so that only by a process akin to composite photography can we get an idea of the type. When we get this idea we find that the modern school has become differentiated in four particulars: in purpose, in spirit, in studies, in methods of instruction.

The purpose of the earlier schools was narrow. To instruct in the arts of reading, writing, and casting accounts, was all that the elementary schools essayed to do. The grammar schools added a knowledge of the structure of Latin and Greek. In more recent times, as new studies were added to the school curriculum—English grammar, geography, history, in the lower schools, and the new sciences in the academies and high schools—the aim was still to impart knowledge; that up to the limit of opportunity the student might be learned. To store the mind was the teacher's aim and the pupil's ambition. As the child learned in infancy to repeat—

> "How doth the little busy bee
> Improve each shining hour,
> And gather honey all the day
> From every opening flower,"

he was expected to find in the verse at once analogy and incentive.

Later, under the mechanical influences of the graded system, the purpose of the individual school became still more narrow: to furnish a measured quantity of knowledge; hence of measurable knowledge; to fit for the next grade—grammar school, high school, college; to get per cents and pass examinations. Through this stage most schools have recently passed. Some are still in it.

The modern school is characterized by a purpose as broad as the nature of the child, and determined by it. Instead of seeing in the boy or girl just entering the primary school only one more to be registered, and put through a half-dozen reading books, two or three arithmetics, and a couple of geographies, and then turned out done—instead of seeing merely a child, the school sees a child in process of becoming a man, and looking beyond the present it inquires what demands the future will make upon him in the complicated relations of modern life.

It sees the child as body, mind, and soul, and feels responsibilities for each. It sees the mind, not as a storehouse to be filled, not as Locke saw it—a blank white tablet to be written on—but a sum of undeveloped capacities and powers; and finds its own mission to be to direct and promote the unfolding, for the perfecting of each, that

the body may be a fit instrument for the mind; the mind for the soul; that the man may be full summed in all his powers, or, to use the philosophic formula of the day, may be in harmony with his environment.

With this broader purpose, and because of it, the school has taken on a new spirit. The prevailing spirit of the old school was harsh, repressive, repellent. Wherever the light of literature, in fiction or in poetry, touches the school, it gleams luridly. The schoolmaster is impaled upon the pen of every satirist; the trident is no more inseparable from the conception of Neptune in art, nor the organ from the pictures of Saint Cecilia, than is the rod from the portrait of the schoolmaster.

From every study of childhood, in biography or tradition, we rise with the exclamation of Thackeray, "Poor little ancestors, how they were flogged!" School government was regarded as a necessary evil: it was to hold the child down while he could be operated upon, or to head him off whenever he obeyed an impulse of Nature. Rebellion was assumed to be the natural attitude of the child's mind, and the first condition of success in education, expressed in a phrase which suggests the rack and the thumbscrew, was to "break the child's will."

Now all is changed. The modern school believes in sunshine; it seeks first to be cheerful; the birch and the ferule are no longer conspicuous schoolroom ornaments—they have given place to pictures and flowers and running vines, as the stocks and the whipping-post on the village green have given way to the memorial statue and the fountain. School discipline is regarded not as a means of repressing evil, but as an essential means of bringing out good. The teacher is no longer merely a master, a task-setter, an examiner; but he is an educator, using the school for the benefit of the child, that by its means he may be formed as well as informed.

The *work* of the modern school is so new that the change seems more like revolution than evolution. The little children are studying form and color, modeling in clay, constructing in paper and wood; all are drawing. They are learning sewing, cooking, joinery, wood-turning, and carving. They are studying music, not merely to sing by rote, but to read in various keys and in all the parts. They are collecting, observing, drawing, describing, preserving plants, animals, and minerals. They are studying the natural forces and their effects, in physics and chemistry and meteorology.

Looking toward citizenship are history, civ-

ics, and various special exercises to develop patriotism: the flag over the schoolhouse is a most significant emblem of the new purpose working itself out beneath. Besides all this, there are the humanizing influences of literature; not the Bible of the colonial schools—more's the pity; not the set pieces of elocutionary fireworks of the later school readers, but choicest classics in their entirety.

This broader work matches the broader purpose and grows out of it. These studies are not ends but means. By them powers and capacities are revealed and increased and satisfied. Right feelings are wakened, tastes are cultivated, the will is trained, and the conscience instructed. As the current phrase expresses it, "the whole child is put to school."

Lastly, the modern school is known by its methods of instruction. These, too, are in harmony with its purpose—the all-round development of the child. To set a task in geography or arithmetic, to see that it is learned and remembered, was one thing; to use these studies to train the child to observe, to imagine, to reason, to express, to feel, to will, is another and a very different thing. One principle underlies all the work and determines all the method—things, not signs for things, are the true source of knowl-

edge; the true educing forces. Objects, facts, phenomena are observed, compared, classified, related. Analysis and induction are used as a means of training. In all these ways and by all these means the school seeks to develop the active powers and to attain the great end—self-education; believing, with Sandy Mackaye in Alton Locke, "A mon kens only what he has learned hissel."

Such being the salient features of the modern school, we turn to ask to what influences they are due; in what order and by what agencies they have been evolved. The influences have been of two kinds, general and individual. The more kindly spirit in the schools is a feature of the age. There is more sympathy with suffering, more pity for misery, more charity for sin. Much of this doubtless is mere sentiment—a fastidious niceness that would have no "slovenly, unhandsome corse betwixt the wind and its nobility"—but that there is something deeper and more real is proved by every Red Cross and White Ribbon, by every Toynbee Hall and Andover House, by every King's Daughter and Humane Society and Rescue Mission the world over.

The scientific spirit of the age, too, has had its influence in the schools. That keen-visioned

search for truth, ever doubting, ever questioning, submitting all things to crucial tests, the tardy but glorious fruitage of the philosophy of the sage of Verulam, is all the time molding courses and methods of study.

In the beginning of this century elementary schools were much alike in Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, and the United States. Low ideals, narrow range of instruction, incompetent teachers, public apathy were general.

Unquestionably the first effective impulse to move the schools out of the slough came from Pestalozzi. Men before him had philosophized wisely about education, but he illustrated his philosophy by his practice, and was fortunate enough in the time and place of his experiments to attract universal attention and to gather about him a body of disciples who could preach and practice his doctrines even more successfully than he could do it himself. Thus he multiplied himself in his followers until all the world felt his influence.

It is true that his own practice was crude, full of errors and failures, but his life was a grand success. He broke the chains for all earnest school teachers, and let in the sunshine on the pathway of childhood. He discovered the true functions of school education—to develop the

child in the line of his natural powers and in the order of their development; and he saw, too, in some degree the true relations of studies to this end. In his work language, form and number, music and drawing were means for exercising the faculties of the child, and the teacher's work was with the child and not on him; for the child was neither a reservoir to be filled, nor a block of marble to be carved, nor a mass of clay to be molded.

If we examine his doctrines and practice in detail we shall find in them all those features which characterize the modern school—the broad purpose, the gentle and kindly spirit, the various studies used as means, the natural methods.

Another powerful impulse has come more recently from Froebel. In the same direction as Pestalozzianism, it goes much further and strikes much deeper. It makes more of the moral and religious side of education. Studying more specifically the relations of life—domestic, social, civil—it seeks to prepare for them all by a careful system of child nurture, making much of the creative and imitative faculties, and providing the child from the earliest infancy with a favorable environment.

Herbert Spencer, too, has had considerable in-

fluence in modifying the courses of study, and to some extent the methods of instruction. His influence must be counted on both the progressive and the conservative side: progressive, in that he advocated the study of modern science; conservtive, in that he reiterated the ancient dogma—knowledge is power. The so-called practical theory of education, which believes in giving to children that knowledge and that only which they can put to immediate use in bread-winning, has found in Spencer its most powerful expositor and advocate.

In our study of Horace Mann and his coadjutors we saw how closely the revival of interest in the common schools in Massachusetts was related to the reorganization of the common-school systems of Prussia and Holland. Into these schools the doctrines and practices of Pestalozzi had been wrought by men who learned them as his disciples.

To this fact is due whatever superiority the elementary schools of Germany have over those of the United States, and the latest movements, there as here, received their impulse from the same source, for Froebel and Herbart were both students under Pestalozzi.

The doctrines and practices of Pestalozzi early and profoundly impressed American observers.

Cousin's Reports were widely read; the American Reports of Stowe, Bache, Mann, and Barnard deepened the impression. Woodbridge, in his Journal of Education, kept the new education steadily before his readers. Colburn's Arithmetic (1823) was wholly Pestalozzian.

Private-school men early threw themselves into the new movement. William B. Fowle in the monitorial school, William Russell at Lancaster, Gideon F. Thayer in the Chauncey Hall School, George B. Emerson in his young ladies' school, the Alcotts in their teaching—were all apostles of the new education. With Russell was associated for a time Hermann Krüsi, son of that Krüsi who had been Pestalozzi's associate at Iverdun, and himself trained as pupil and teacher in his father's normal school at Gais.

Considerable impulse toward reform came from the lectures and writings of George Combe, who visited this country in 1838 and formed lasting friendship with most of the progressive men and women of the time. Coming just when the new spirit was working most powerfully, he found in Mr. Mann a warm personal friend and a loyal disciple, and through him influenced the whole State. It is probable that the introduction of physiology and hygiene in the common-school

curriculum as an optional study, in 1850,* was due to this influence.

Aside from the efforts of these individuals, the normal schools stand forth pre-eminent among the agencies by which the schools have become modernized. From their beginning, the three Massachusetts schools—Framingham, Westfield, and Bridgewater—stood for progress along the lines already specified. While they have taught the same branches of knowledge as the academies, they taught them for a different purpose and in a different way.

Superficial critics, from that day to this, have found fault with the normal schools for teaching subjects—calling such work academic and not professional; but the difference between the study of subjects—say arithmetic—in the normal schools and elsewhere, has been the difference between the old school and the new.

Outside the normal school arithmetic was studied that the student might know enough of it for his personal use in the affairs of life; in the normal school it was so taught that the student might know it and use it as an instrument in training children to think. So the normal student came to know arithmetic, not merely in

* Acts of 1850, chap. 229.

its technique, but in its principles; not merely as a means of solving problems, but as a means of teaching children.

In the normal schools, too, the true principles of school government were unfolded and the highest motives to conduct presented. Day by day the pupils of Father Pierce at West Newton and at Framingham heard his sublime injunction, "Live the truth!"

Natural methods of instruction found, too, in the normal school their most complete exemplification. The abundant use of objective illustration and oral instruction were characteristic features. The fundamental principle of the new education was that education was development; the work of the school was to supply the conditions for the unfolding of faculties—in the order of Nature. It early became evident that the study of mind must underlie all successful educational theory and practice, and the normal schools set about the teaching of psychology, that the teachers whom they were training might work not empirically but from principle and intelligently.

The first three normal schools were established, as we have seen, in 1839 and 1840. Their early graduates encountered almost everywhere prejudice and suspicion, in many cases active and

persistent, sometimes malignant opposition; but steadily, year by year, they fixed themselves more and more firmly in public estimation and support. Each normal graduate who succeeded created a demand for more, and during their entire history there has not been a year when the demand has not exceeded the supply. At different times testimony has been called for, from school authorities, as to their success. The weight of this testimony is to the effect that through the influence of these teachers better methods of teaching have been introduced, milder forms of government, more salutary influences upon character, and that indirectly they have raised the standard for all teachers, and so elevated more schools than they have taught. Especially noteworthy is the testimony that the normal graduates exhibited a professional enthusiasm hitherto almost unknown, and that this spirit being contagious had elevated the whole body of teachers.

So satisfactory had the work of the pioneer schools been that in answer to a popular demand, in 1854, a fourth school was opened in Salem, and twenty years later a fifth school in Worcester. Working with these State schools has been the Boston City Normal School.*

* The legislature of 1894 has authorized the establishment of four more State normal schools.

Side by side with the normal schools of Massachusetts, and co-operating with them in the modernizing of common-school education through the principles of Pestalozzi, stood the Normal School of Oswego, New York, where object teaching was first specialized under Pestalozzian principles in 1861, when Miss E. M. Jones was brought from the Home and Colonial Society of London to open a City Training School. The next year Krüsi became connected with the school, and spent twenty-five years in developing Pestalozzi's theories. The school has sent its graduates over all the land, and has perhaps as much as any other single institution helped to mold American schools.

While we are indebted chiefly to the normal schools for modifying the spirit and methods of public instruction, their work was done almost entirely on the traditional lines. That broadening of the course of study, which is the most conspicuous feature of the modern school, and the incorporation of the doctrines of Froebel into the current school philosophy have proceeded from other sources.

The first wide departure from the conventional standards of school work was in the compulsory introduction of drawing. Following closely upon this came the miscellaneous work

grouped around the title "manual training." The impulse to both of these came from the Paris Exposition of 1867. At the World's Fair in London in 1851 England led in nearly all departments of manufactures. Yet there were a few in which Continental nations excelled. The superiority of these was chiefly in beauty of design; the products were artistic as well as useful. Schools of design were immediately established, and the South Kensington Museum founded, and the influence of these was speedily felt.

But the Continental countries had learned more than they had taught, and in 1867 England was in the rear even in her own specialties. Commissioners appointed to search for the causes of this relative decline agreed that the chief cause was the splendid industrial training which France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria had incorporated into their educational systems. Drawing had been made a universal study in the elementary schools, and upon this foundation had been built the most thorough and comprehensive system of technical instruction, reaching all kinds of industries, and providing intelligent workmen and accomplished foremen and superintendents.

England took the lesson to heart. The immediate outcome there was the National Schools

Act of 1870. American manufacturers learned the same lesson, and with characteristic promptness and energy set about the work of raising the educational standard at home. In 1869 the Lowells, the Lawrences, the Bigelows, and others, setting forth the lack of skilled native workmen, and the necessity of importing designers and foremen for all the higher classes of manufactures, petitioned the Legislature to consider means of providing instruction in industrial and mechanical drawing.*

Drawing had been made an optional study in 1858, chiefly through the influence of Krüsi, who had taught it for several years in the Teachers' Institutes. But nothing of value had been done. Now, in 1870,† drawing was made a regular study in all the public schools. Besides this, evening drawing schools were required in all the larger towns. This requirement was immediately acted on, and schools were opened, to which men and women from all the leading industries flocked, eager to avail themselves of the new opportunity.

The attempt to carry out the provisions of the new law in the public schools met at once with

* For initiatory steps in introduction of industrial drawing, see Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, p. 163.

† Acts of 1870, chap. 248.

an insuperable obstacle—there were no teachers, and there was no one to teach the teachers. To obviate this difficulty the city of Boston sought a leader in South Kensington, and finding there Mr. Walter Smith, made him Art Director for the city. The State co-operated with the city, and employed him as Art Director. The State also established a Normal Art School, and placed Mr. Smith at its head. Subsequently the Board of Education employed a special agent to supervise the drawing in the State. By means of these agencies the work in drawing has been put upon a substantial footing, and is already bearing fruit in some of the leading industries.

Thus the foundation of a system of industrial education has been laid; but after twenty years of agitation and effort, everything beyond this —even where the most has been done—is still matter of experiment and uncertainty.

In deference to the wishes of the friends of this work, following its usual custom, the Legislature in 1872 * granted permission to the towns to support free industrial schools. Various private associations and individuals in a tentative way early began to experiment in furnishing instruction in some form of wood-working; a little crude

* Acts of 1872, chap. 86.

experimenting was done in the same line in connection with public-school work.*

Now wood-working in a systematic form enters into the regular school work of Boston and several other cities and towns. Sewing has been quite generally introduced into the city schools, and more recently instruction in cooking has been added to the curriculum. A beginning has been made in Springfield, Cambridge, and Boston to furnish more advanced instruction in wood and metal working. But as yet neither State nor municipalities have undertaken to furnish in any large and generous and intelligent way such opportunities for technical culture as all the great centers of England and Europe have been maintaining for years.

While for twenty years the idea of industrial education has been slowly permeating society, the doctrines of Froebel have been even longer in getting themselves formally recognized in public-school work. The concrete embodiment—that is, the kindergarten as an institution—is just beginning to exist as a part of the public-school system. And yet the kindergarten has been before the people of Massachusetts for more than thirty years—the lifetime of a generation.

* Forty-fourth Report of Massachusetts Board of Education, pp. 179–186; Forty-sixth Report, pp. 217–223.

The apostle of the kindergarten movement in Massachusetts was Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody, and to her efforts, with tongue and pen, is due whatever success the movement has had. Her own kindergarten—the first in Boston, in 1860—was soon followed by others in different parts of the country. They were all private, and patronized chiefly by families of means, who preferred them to the old-fashioned dame-school or the public primary school.

It was soon apparent to Miss Peabody that these schools were kindergartens chiefly in name; with a few of the externals, they lacked the spirit of Froebel's institution. She went to Germany, and studied the system in its home, and came back to begin the work anew. Trained kindergartners came from Europe and opened training schools here, and the work entered upon its second and much higher stage.*

In 1877 Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw opened kindergartens for the poor as a private charity. The number of these was gradually increased until, in 1888, she was supporting fourteen of them in different parts of the city. In that year the city adopted them as a part of its public-school sys-

* In 1870 a public free kindergarten was opened in Boston under the direction of the school committee. It was maintained for nine years.

tem, and now there are in Boston forty-eight public kindergartens.

While the kindergarten itself as an institution—even now—is a very small fraction of the public-school system, its principles and its philosophy have indirectly and profoundly affected public-school instruction. The closer relation of the teachers to the children and of the children to each other—simulating the family—the varied, pleasing, and at the same time purposeful and educational activity shown in the kindergarten, have become characteristic of the modern primary school.

The early primary school was once portrayed in a Boston school report: "It looked like an ill-regulated nursery, where the morning duties of the children in the way of washing, combing, and dressing had been imperfectly performed, and the children sent to one room as a safe place of detention. In the countenance of both teacher and pupils there was but one expression —'What a weariness it is!' The children sat in the small yellow chairs, swaying their little bodies to and fro from mere listlessness; and whenever they could escape the eye of the teacher, breaking the laws of the school by obeying the laws of Nature, constantly offending but never feeling guilty, the teacher mean-

while, by snatches and amid continued interruptions, hearing the alphabet class, the spelling class, and the reading class in a drawling and weary manner. There were two cheerful moments in the day—those when the children escaped from the schoolhouse; and when the teacher left the door she could hardly have known in the eager looks and joyous voices of the little crowd the listless and weary children of the half hour before."

The transformation of the primary school began with the Pestalozzian influence, but the most radical and far-reaching impulse has come from Froebel through the kindergarten.

Another most interesting phase of the same subject is the influence of the kindergarten upon the work in drawing and the manual arts. The drawing work, as originally planned, had for its primary and specific end to prepare mechanics to make and to read working-drawings and to cultivate taste and skill in industrial design. Other results were secondary. The motive was purely practical in its character.

From the new philosophy came the idea of drawing as an educational instrument, as a means of expression of conceptions of form, as only a part of a more extended whole. This notion superinduced upon the original one has

wholly changed the drawing in all the elementary schools. It begins earlier—begins with form study; uses modeling in clay as an adjunct; draws into its service the kindergarten occupations of stick-laying and paper folding and cutting, and makes itself attractive with color. It is also itself made to do service in illustrating almost all subjects in the school courses—geography, history, literature, and natural science. Persons not familiar with school work can not know how far-reaching this work is as an element of public education.

But the influence of the kindergarten upon the development of technical education has been less favorable. In the early advocacy of the industrial movement two motives were apparent. Men interested in the mechanic arts and in building up manufacturing industries wanted skilled workmen, and they wanted schools to train them in. The end was clearly in view, and the way to it was plain and straight. Besides this purely practical motive, there was a pseudo-philanthropy, which feared that the lower classes would not properly appreciate the dignity of manual labor—that they would look away to the cleaner hands and better clothes and shorter hours which seemed to belong to literary and professional and commercial life. Something be-

sides the traditional work of the schools seemed necessary to fit these people for their sphere and to keep them in it.

From the kindergarten came another motive. Man is a creative animal, and it is the business of education to furnish him, throughout his school life, with opportunity for this creative instinct to develop itself. Solely from subjective motive, and without reference to any practical end, every child should be taught to use his hands.

These two motives have been playing seesaw with each other for years. Now one has been up, now the other. They have not yet been harmonized. One is reminded of a phrase used by the historian Mommsen, in describing Pompey the Great: "He passed his life away in a state of perpetual inward contradiction." Meanwhile the work waits. The people could understand the practical motive, and might respond to it in a practical way. They knew little and cared little about the more abstruse theory. An industrial educational system directed to practical ends, broad in its scope and complete in its details, and adapted to American needs, we have not yet attained.

In discussing the agencies by which the modern evolutionary processes have been hastened,

we have spoken of individuals and of the normal schools. There are others deserving of mention. The Board of Education has also had a powerful uplifting and broadening influence. People in States where the educational system is more centralized are fond of sneering at the Massachusetts Board of Education because it has so little compulsory authority. These people have not learned the first lesson of the civics of a free State—that the hidings of its power are not in law, but in the sentiments and impulses of its people. Quietly but steadily, for fifty-four years the Board of Education has been using the means at its command to enlighten the people of the State concerning what they ought to do and how they ought to do it.

Under the blighting influences of the private schools, the board had first to create a public-school spirit; then it had to foster it; more recently, to meet the malign influences of sectarianisms, it has had to intensify it.

Among its members have been men of all professions, whom Massachusetts has delighted to honor, and who have earned its homage by their work and their services: publicists—Briggs, Boutwell, Washburn, Walker, Adams; literary men—Sparks, Higginson, Scudder; clergymen—Chapin, Hooker, Clarke, Miner, Brooks; public-

school men—Mann, Emerson, Philbrick; college men—Sears, Hopkins, Seelye, Stearns, Felton, Marshall, Capen.

Through its annual reports and those of its Secretary it has put before school officers the most advanced opinions of educational theory and practice. Through its institutes it has presented these theories in the concrete, and thus afforded to teachers everywhere object lessons in the application of approved methods. Through its Agents—practical school men—it has penetrated every town and every school district, discovering weaknesses and excellences, revealing to teachers and committees and parents their own shortcomings—criticising, condemning, counseling, awakening, encouraging.

In no other State in the Union is the condition of the entire public-school system so transparent to the central authority as in Massachusetts. The Board of Education can by asking its Agents have by return mail a detailed description of the most obscure school, its numbers, its house, its teacher, its work—a photograph taken within two years and in the Agent's note-book.

Under the steady pressure of this influence, without compulsory authority, school attendance has become more regular, school buildings have become brighter and safer for body and soul,

school books and helps have become plentier and better, school teachers have become kinder and wiser, school committees broader, and the school public more intelligent and more generous. Old things have passed away, and some if not all things have become new. Besides all this, the board has been almost the sole instrumentality in securing helpful legislation and in protecting the school from hostile enactments.

It has done all this work quietly, with singleness of purpose and without ostentation, sounding no trumpet before its acts of beneficence—as the hypocrites do—it has sought to realize Horace Mann's ideal of the common school—"a free, straight, solid pathway, by which every child of the Commonwealth could walk directly up from the ignorance of an infant to a knowledge of the primary duties of a man, and could acquire a power and an invincible will to discharge them."

The Board of Education and the normal schools have found earnest coadjutors among the teachers themselves as organized into associations. The American Institute of Instruction, established in 1830, was immediately followed by the Essex County Association, and this by other county organizations and by the State Association. In more recent years numerous bodies of specialists have been organized.

In 1848 the Commonwealth, in a way, adopted the State and County Associations into its school system by giving them annual grants of money. In the meetings of these associations the new and the old have met and contended in free discussion—new theories, new methods, new devices. Orthodoxy has clashed with heterodoxy until the sparks flew, to the confusion of the weak and the perplexity of the wise. Cranks and mountebanks have disported themselves, to the grief of the judicious and the alarm of the timid. But out of it all has come progress, and these associations are to-day potent instrumentalities in the current evolutionary processes.

There is an educational literature, too, which is on the whole making for righteousness. This is the most modern force. Twenty-five years ago books on education were rare and periodicals were few and their circulation insignificant. Now a public-school teacher who is not a subscriber to some educational periodical is looked upon askance by school officials. Teachers' libraries are common, and teachers' reading circles have covered whole States. It is rare to find a schoolroom desk without some books on educational theory or practice. Public school teachers in Massachusetts are studying their work as never before.

I turn now to review the path along which we have come. Standing by the side of the sources of our educational institutions, we find ourselves among a people who partook in the fullest measure of the spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation, who had imbibed the sentiments of Luther and Calvin and Knox and Cranmer, who believed that religion was the supreme affair of man and that learning was its handmaid. As an enduring testimonial to their belief that the social and civil welfare of the new community was inextricably interwoven with its spiritual life, they built a church in the midst of their homes, and planted a school beside it or within it.

Their aim was to have every child so instructed and trained that he should on the one side be a self-supporting member of the community and an intelligent participator in social and civil affairs, and on the other that he should be a loyal subject in the kingdom of God. These people lived always in sight and in thought of two worlds, and their history has proved that to give a large share of interest to spiritual things by no means impedes material progress, illustrating Coleridge's saying, "Celestial observations are necessary, even to make terrestrial charts accurate."

So believing, they coupled in their earliest de-

cree for the bringing up of their youth, "learning and labor," and they included in the learning "the capital laws and the principles of religion." That was a wonderfully comprehensive scheme for the time and place.

As we follow the course of events, we observe that throughout the history the Legislature has been the efficient instrument in holding up the standards and unifying the system, while there has been in practice a tendency to drop below them.

The first step in the evolution of our compulsory system—the compulsory teaching of the children—was taken, we are expressly told, because many parents were too indulgent and negligent of their duty. The next step—compulsory schools—was taken lest learning be buried in the graves of the fathers; the third step—compulsory certification of teachers—grew out of the fact that the early law had been shamefully neglected by divers towns during the trying period of the Indian wars.

When the schools had suffered through the Revolutionary period, the law of 1789 contained a new compulsory enactment—compulsory supervision; and again in 1836 when the evils of the district system were at their height, the office of school committee was established to check their

deteriorating influences. When a new cause—foreign immigration—had brought again decadence, the last of the great compulsory enactments was made—that requiring school attendance.

Thus the five conspicuous steps in the evolution of the compulsory features of our system—compulsory teaching, compulsory schools, compulsory certification of teachers, compulsory superintendence, and compulsory school attendance—were the efforts of the State to hold the entire people up to standards which some people were unwilling to reach.

While this interposition of superior central authority was intermittent and at wide intervals of time, there was a perpetual conflict going on in the towns themselves. Nowhere is the conservative influence of democracy more apparent than in the history of New England schools. Every change in policy and method, every improvement in the material condition or in the inner life of the schools, has been met by the narrow and selfish opposition of some man or men whose only interest in civil affairs has been to reduce taxation. To this open hostility of the niggardly has been added the inertia of the ignorant, and the town meeting has been the arena where the hosts of the Lord have contended with

the Philistines through all the generations of Massachusetts history. Thus the town meetings have been themselves among the most potent educational influences. Progressive and zealous men, animated by principle, have learned a higher art than the schools teach—the art of persuading their fellow-men. Forced to give a reason for their faith, they have enlightened themselves that they might enlighten others.

But all this takes time. Zealous reformers often grow impatient, and shallow critics babble, and cynics snarl; but for all this the progress has been continuous, and in spite of all that is said and thought to the contrary, intelligent observers know that the schools of to-day are not the schools of fifty years ago, nor twenty years ago, nor ten years ago, nor five years ago; they are better schools in everything that makes a good school. And they are growing better: as steadily as the grass grows in the spring, or the leaves unfold, as surely and steadily as time moves on, bringing new days and new months and new years, so surely is the new school being unfolded, according to the law of democratic evolution, by the energizing force of enlightened public opinion.

We have seen this force operating through all the period we have been studying. All new

forms and all reforms have been first wrought out in individual towns through the influence of individual citizens. Thence they have spread from town to town, through that friendly rivalry which is as powerful a motive in municipal as in private life. Finally, when experience and trial have led to the belief that what is good for a part is good for all, the Legislature has interposed and made the practice general. Thus legislation has ever followed, not led nor driven, and Massachusetts has never known the time when a political party could find capital in opposing the educational policy which the people have adopted. It is this fact which accounts for the stability of the public-school system, rooted deep in the intelligent convictions of eight generations of the people.

It is from this point of view that we discover most clearly the influence and value to the Commonwealth of Harvard College. We are familiar with the sneer that early Massachusetts was priest-ridden, and that Harvard College was founded to make clergymen, and that the Latin schools were only to teach boys whose profession was to be theology. It is probable that as many boys became ministers in order to study Latin as studied Latin to be ministers; for there were boys then as now who loved study for its own

sake, and the ministry was then the only learned profession. But through all our history the ministers have been more than clergymen; they have been social lights and social leaders. In this the college has more than realized the hopes of its founders, and justified their benefactions.

Conspicuous as have been the spires of the country churches, so conspicuous have been the ministers, embodying and preserving the ancient traditions in favor of learning. By their side have been the country doctor and the country lawyer. In times and places of popular indifference they have kept the fires alive. They have first of all provided the best education for their own children. Their sons and daughters have been the shining lights of the school, the academy, and the college. Intimately acquainted with all the families, they have known the aptitudes of the children, and they have aroused an ambition for learning in the hearts of a multitude of young people who but for their advice or intercession might never have been more than drudges. In the absence of other means, they have themselves been teachers.

They have always been the friends of schools; have stood for progress and liberal measures in town meetings; have served on school committees, and by their annual reports have edu-

cated the people up to their own standard. Their private libraries were object lessons, and helped to foster a reverence for books and a taste for reading, out of which grew the early social libraries and later the free public libraries, of which Massachusetts has more than all the other States combined. The influence of the minister, the doctor, and the lawyer, in the making of New England, is a subject which in its fullness waits for a historian.

In the educational movements of the last forty years, by which the school system has become modernized and the schools themselves have become new creations, the colleges have had little share. Indeed, the college influences in many cases have been wholly conservative and reactionary. To the normal schools and the free high schools distinguished college men have been openly and actively hostile; to the new philosophy underlying the more recent changes they have been indifferent. In theory and in practice they have clung to Renaissance ideals, and they have been singularly blind to the new work and new methods by which the public schools have been seeking to adapt themselves to the new social conditions.

If an educational system may be judged by its fruits, the people of Massachusetts have

reason to think that on the whole the fathers built wisely and well. They may believe that the successive phases which the system has presented in its development have on the whole been in harmony with the spirit of the age, and adapted to its requirements.

This seems no less true of the more modern than of the more ancient forms. The active men and women of the present generation were trained in the public schools as they were modified under the graded system, and under the influence of the modern ideals. It is fair to look at these men and women as products in part of the educational system, and to measure its influence by the qualities of character which they possess, and by their success or failure.

While an outlook over the face of society in its varied relations and activities may not at every point afford the utmost satisfaction—while, indeed, there may be much to deplore—yet as between the optimist and the pessimist the optimist seems to have the best of it. Whether we turn our glass toward the higher levels of religion and morals and manners, or lower to the material side of life, or toward the conduct of public affairs, the forces which have been at work to prepare the generation for its duties and its responsibilities seem to have done their work well.

If there is less of intension in the religious life and work of men and women, there is more of extension. If there is less of theological thinking there is more of Christlike activity; so that no great harm has come from leaving the catechism out of the schools. Society is as chaste, as temperate, as honest as it has been at any period in our history. There is more of courtesy and less of boorishness.

The increase of wealth and its wide distribution, whereby the people are better housed and better clothed and better fed, testify to the industry and frugality and business enterprise of the people, while the magnitude of business undertakings, of financial operations and their success show that business integrity, and fidelity to trust have been equal to the increasing strain upon them.

And, finally, in spite of all that good men deplore in the conduct of civil and political affairs, it may be doubted whether—taking the complexity of modern civilization into account—the administration of public affairs, in the making, the interpreting, and the execution of law, is not on the whole as wise and as honest as at any earlier period of the history of our State. Nor is there less affection for country or devotion to the flag.

That the nearer approach to modern ideals which the schools are now making will not be less fruitful of good, we may confidently hope, for the work is based on an ever-increasing knowledge of child nature and a more profound study of education as a science. But in judging of the present and in forecasting the future, we ought always to have in mind the limitations under which the schools are doing their work. The results which the system ought to produce, presuppose children of an average intelligence and average health, in regular attendance upon schools in suitable buildings, under intelligent and skillful teachers, well organized and wisely directed.

But some of these conditions are often wanting. There are many dull children and stupid children—multitudes with no intelligent ancestry back of them, no heredity in their favor; children who, like Mr. Pullet in Adam Bede, have a great natural capacity for ignorance. There are puny children, ill-nurtured children, sickly children, while epidemics of children's diseases decimate whole schools every year.

The physical conditions under which the work is attempted are often most unfavorable. Schoolhouses—most of the old ones—are badly heated, badly lighted, and not ventilated at all.

The seats, even the best modern ones, have no relation in form or size to the children who are to occupy them.

Much might be done in spite of these hindrances, if the children who ought to be at school were always there, but on the average every child is absent one day in ten; and inasmuch as the sound bright children from good homes are more regular than the average, by so much are the weak and the neglected more frequently absent.

The organization of most of the schools is such as to make ideal teaching and training impossible. The classes are too large by half; the wonder is that teachers accomplish anything with the swarms of little ones who crowd the primary schools, or with the fifty or more who load the upper grades.

The teaching force, while better than ever before and constantly improving, is still far from being what ideal conditions would require. Many teachers are too young, too inexperienced in life, with no sense of its responsibilities and no comprehension of its relations. Many are too old: elasticity all gone; no sympathy with childhood; no power of adaptation. Some are ignorant, having had no adequate scholastic or professional training—worked into the schools in

the absence of any effective means of barring them out.

The best teachers are sometimes hampered by ill-constructed courses of study, or by arbitrary restrictions in discipline, or by ignorant and crotchety school officials; most often by systems of examination which force them into paths that are repugnant alike to their feelings and their judgment.

That public sentiment which in the fathers led them to lay the foundations of the school system so broad and so substantial, which kept schools and colleges alive through periods of darkness and disaster, which adapted them by new forms for changing conditions of social life —the moving school, the district school, the academy, the graded school, the free high school —that public sentiment must be relied on to reduce these limitations to a minimum.

More generous appropriations of money are needed, to provide everywhere commodious and comfortable and attractive schoolhouses; to equip them with all needed apparatus, cabinets, and libraries; to increase the number of teachers so that the size of classes may be reduced—so that children may be taught in squads rather than in battalions and brigades.

To this same enlightened public sentiment

we must look for a system of selecting teachers which will keep out the most incompetent; which will put a premium on capacity and professional training; which will neither induct teachers into office nor keep them there for personal and political ends, nor sacrifice the welfare of the children to the necessities of the superannuated and the indigent. And, lastly, public sentiment among those who have the schools in charge must devise some way by which all grades of schools, from the kindergarten to the college, shall be so correlated that there shall be a straight and open pathway from the lowest to the highest—with no hurdles to jump over and no hoops to jump through—along which free-acting children may be led by teachers acting freely within the necessary limits of relativity.

The process of evolution has in it necessarily an element of sadness. When old things pass away, we miss them even if we would not have them stay. The old, familiar ways—our roots are in them, and change means wrenching. We reverence "use and wont." Some of us perhaps are looking back to the district school with jealous fondness; to the academy and to the older days at college, or to a time when school work and school discipline were more severe and formal. Perhaps even now, in thought, we are

querying if the new be really better, and deprecating any new departure.

We sympathize perhaps with Arthur's lonely knight standing by the unknown sea, the goodly fellowship all ended, and the phantom barge about to bear away his king:

> "Ah, my lord Arthur, whither shall I go?
> For now I see the true old times are dead,
> When every morning brought a noble chance,
> And every chance brought out a noble knight."
>
> . . . . . .

Listen to Arthur's answer:

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

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